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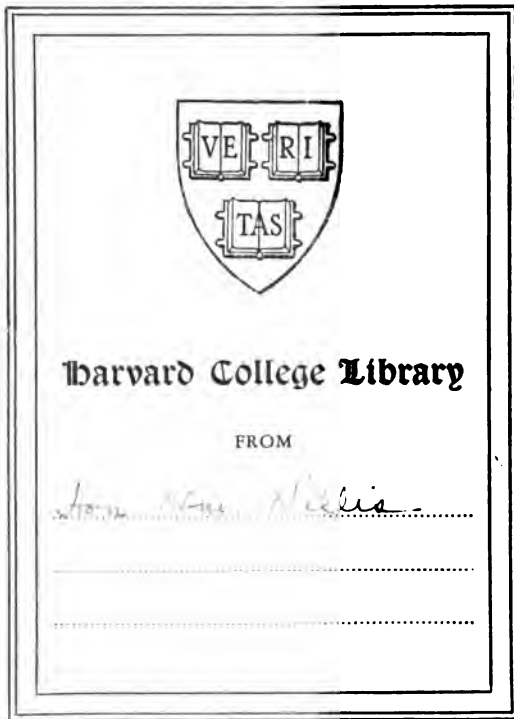
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MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
SECOND SERIES.

DOCUMENTARY

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF MAINE.

EDITED BY
WILLIAM WILLIS.

VOL. I.

CONTAINING A

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BY
J. G. KOHL.

WITH AN APPENDIX
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BY M. D'AVEZAC, OF PARIS.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN offering this first volume of a new series of its publications, the Maine Historical Society believes it will confer a high gratification, not only upon historical students in our own State, but on all who take an interest in the early annals of our country residing within the limits of the charter granted by James I. in 1606, to the Council of Plymouth.

The Society, having long had the impression that the archives of the chief commercial nations of Europe contained rich materials relating to the discovery of these shores, and of the early attempts to colonize them, were anxious to explore those store-houses of hidden treasures. For this purpose they appealed to the State, and, in 1863, obtained a pecuniary grant to enable them to make a preliminary investigation. Sufficient encouragement was given by this appropriation, to induce the government to enlarge its bounty; and, in 1867, the Governor and Council were authorized to contract with the Society for the publication, annually, of a volume "containing the earliest documents, charters, and other State papers illustrating the history of Maine."

Stimulated by this liberal benefaction, the Society availed itself of the opportunity of a visit to Europe by the Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., LL. D., late President of Bowdoin College, to obtain his aid in the necessary examinations. This accomplished scholar, being accredited by the highest recommendation in the country, and aided by his learning and personal address, had access to various public and private collections of rare and valuable documents, and an introduction to scholars of similar

taste, availed himself of those advantages to promote the objects of his inquiry.

He explored the archives of the British State-paper offices, under the guidance of Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, the familiar spirit of those obscure regions, through whom he obtained transcripts of valuable documents relating to our early history. He also visited the British Museum, and especially the map department, rich with early and authentic maps, and conducted by its head, the learned R. H. Major, F. S. A., etc., whose historical and geographical works have placed him among the first—*primus inter pares*—in those pursuits, gained access to that unrivalled collection. He also conferred with M. D'Avezac, the learned archæologist at Paris, from whom he obtained interesting information pertinent to his object, and has since received from him a valuable communication which is placed in our Appendix. He then proceeded to Germany, where, in Bremen, he made the acquaintance of Dr. J. G. Kohl, whose reputation as a traveler, author, and cartographer, was eminent in this country, as well as in Europe. In him he found a congenial spirit, and a ready and hearty sympathy in the objects of his pursuit. It was not long, therefore, before he came to terms with Dr. Kohl, to give to our Society and State the benefit of his great learning and practical experience, in the accomplishment of our purposes.

Dr. Kohl was born in Bremen in 1808, and educated to the law at Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Munich. Several years after this, he was occupied as a private tutor in Courland and traveling in Russia. On his return, in 1838, he settled in Dresden, from which place he made excursions in all directions, visiting every important district of Europe, and published the observations and experience derived from his various expeditions, in a series of volumes. In 1854, he came to America, where he traveled four years, during which time he prepared for the government of the United States, a series of valuable maps relating to America. Since his return, he has been engaged upon a minute geographical survey and history of this continent. His

life has been filled with useful literary labor, and a portion of its fruit has been given to the world in nearly twenty distinct publications. Among these are "Travels in Canada," 1855; "Travels in the United States," 1857; "Kitahi Gama, or Tales from Lake Superior," 1860. Another interesting and important work, published by him in 1861, after a severe course of study and preparation, is entitled "History of, and commentary on, the two oldest charts of the new world, made in Spain on the command of the emperor Charles V."

To secure the services of a man so distinguished, and so peculiarly qualified for the task by long experience in similar studies, was at once honorable to Dr. Woods, and most acceptable and valuable to our Society and community. The result of his labors, so promptly and amply furnished, are presented to the public in the volume before us. And I may venture to say, that the amount of authentic information here brought together on the discovery and early voyages to America, so fully and clearly illustrated by *fac-simile* copies of the earliest maps known to exist, has never been collected in so brief and limited a space. The maps, twenty-three in number, the latest of which is Mercator's of 1569, with the learned explications of them, reduced and lithographed in Bremen under the superintendence of Dr. Kohl, throw fresh light, not only upon the voyages and discoveries with which they are connected, but upon the condition of science and art in those departments of knowledge during that period. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by these illustrations.

The maps, of course, give an imperfect and inaccurate view of our coast, from the desultory and cursory manner in which the visits were made to it; but they furnish a general outline of the north-eastern shores; in most of them are represented the prominent points of Cape Cod, Penobscot Bay, the numerous islands along the coast of Maine, Cape Sable, and Cape Race, points which could not fail to arrest the attention of even a common observer. The ancient *Norumbega*, embracing sometimes the

whole of New England, has a conspicuous place on nearly all the early maps, and retained its name far into the next century, but over a narrower region.

Perhaps we ought not to be surprised at the imperfection of these maps, or of the narratives of those early discoveries, when we consider the ignorance which still prevails in Europe on the geography of America. A French author recently did Portland the honor to make it the capital of New England, and conspicuous points in the south and west of our country are often so transposed in the writings of some of their literary men, that we know not where to find them. It is a familiar fact, that before the Revolution, the name of Boston was often used for the whole of New England. But it is singular that the extraordinary discoveries and transactions of the sixteenth century, so much at variance with the routine occurrences of European societies, should not have been transmitted by contemporaneous writers with more fullness and accuracy than we have received them. Even Eden and Hakluyt, who may be called partisans in American discovery, fail to give us accurate representations of those wonderful and peculiar enterprises, which we should suppose must have made a deep impression upon the public mind. Humboldt says, "the extraordinary appearances of nature, and the intercourse with men of different races must have exercised an influence on the progress of knowledge in Europe. The germ of a great number of physical truths is found in the works of the sixteenth century."

But other events nearer home, and of more absorbing interest, cast a shadow over those remote, desultory, and exceptional transactions. Lord Bacon, in his "Reign of Henry VII," affords but two duodecimo pages to the Cabots, whose enterprises we are accustomed to regard as among the most important of that reign, and were indeed so, in their influence upon the future course of history; and in those few words, he entirely ignores John Cabot and his first voyage. We place this passage in the Appendix. And Speed, in his "History of Great Brit-

aine," published in London in 1611, takes no notice of those events except in these words, "and though some other actions, as Sebastian Cabot's discovery," he thought best "to postpone," that he might "couch all that concerns Perkin Warbeck here together;" so that we have no more of the Cabots, or of any other foreign undertakings to our coasts, in either of those works.

The editor of Bacon's Henry VII, therefore, in his preface justly says, "The original records of the time had not been studied by any man with a genius for writing history, nor gathered into a book by any laborious collector. The published histories were full of inaccuracies and omissions, which it is impossible to correct or supply, without laborious research in public archives and private collections."

In the present work, it gives us pleasure to feel, that Dr. Kohl has given, in a most compact and interesting form, the results of a careful and laborious research into the scattered original sources of information, relating to the eventful, but obscure period of which it treats, illuminating it by a comprehensive, profound, and impressive resumé of its record. We cannot but sympathize with him in his repeated lamentations over the loss of reports and charts of voyages, the neglect of the adventurers to indicate the course and progress of their discoveries, and of cosmographers to delineate them. These neglects and omissions will be particularly noticed in his analysis—dissection we may rather call it—of the maps introduced. The most elaborate and acute of these discussions is upon the celebrated map of 1544, unjustly, as he thinks, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, and on the Cabot voyages, of which there have always existed contradictory opinions.

Dr. Kohl may, perhaps, be thought by some to have traveled beyond the primary object of the work, by introducing the movements of the Spanish and French in Florida. But he thought it not only useful, but necessary to the unity and fulness of the task he had undertaken, to bring these voyages within his

comprehensive review of the development of the northern and eastern section of the country in which we are more especially interested, and to which Thevet's account of Norumbega is an important appendage. In a private letter on the subject, he naively says, "You will perhaps at first sight be astonished to find in my work, not only a report on Cartier's voyages and explorations in Canada, but also one on the French settlements and discoveries in Florida. But by looking nearer into the subject, I hope you will find that these matters also, are so intimately connected with the history of every part of the east coast of the United States, with that of Maine and New England, that it was impossible for me to leave them out. Moreover, the *geographical* and *hydrographical* part of these voyages, in several modern works, has not been much cleared up. I hope you will find, that taking this into consideration, I have come to some new results."

The volume now presented to the public derives additional value from the very interesting communication of M. D'Avezac of Paris, to Dr. Woods, and translated by him, which, with his explanatory letter, will be found in the Appendix. It is most gratifying to be able to place side by side the arguments of such distinguished champions in the field of historical inquiry. M. D'Avezac and Dr. Kohl both reason from opposite views of the same admitted transactions; but Dr. Kohl is more full and minute in his examination of the still doubtful and disputed problem of the Cabot voyages and map. Both, wise and diligent seekers after truth, discuss the obscure and indistinct indications of the imperfectly revealed events of the time, in a spirit of impartiality and ability, which is exhaustive of the subject. It is a generous and honorable contest, which cannot fail to interest and instruct the historical student curious in such investigations.

It was the original intention of the Society to limit its inquiries and researches in foreign archives to the voyages and discoveries which related particularly to our territory, and to the

first efforts to colonize and bring it forward into the line of settlement and civilization. But as the subject was investigated, it grew in importance, until we were carried back for an initial point, to the penumbra of our history, in the earliest known authentic records of American discovery. And we could not but think that a carefully prepared summary of the voyages of the Northmen to the Gulf of Maine, and the later voyages along its coast in the sixteenth century, would be an appropriate and interesting introduction to the history of its actual and permanent colonization.

Our Society had been encouraged to undertake the task, whose results are partially contained in the present volume, by the successful example of other historical societies. Those of Georgia, Maryland, New York, Massachusetts, and others, aided by their respective governments, had pursued their investigations into the musty archives of the State and colonial departments of Great Britain, and had brought forth from them treasures of great value, long hidden, and unrevealed even to their possessors. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it was owing to the discovery of valuable documents revealed by the eager curiosity and persevering search of our American scholars, that a change was effected in the policy of the British government, by which these treasures, long neglected and carefully secluded from observation and use by their jealous guardians, were at length thrown open, and the government itself, becoming aware of their importance, undertook to arrange, classify, and calendar them, and furnish printed abstracts to the public. These valuable collections are thus made available to the cause of history, and have largely contributed to rectify errors and to furnish new facts for the illustration of the early and obscure periods of our history.

In the course of the researches undertaken for our Historical Society, Dr. Woods obtained possession of an *unpublished manuscript* of Richard Hakluyt, the ardent patron and recorder of American discovery; in which, as early as 1584, he urged upon

Queen Elizabeth with great earnestness and force, the prosecution of colonization upon our coasts. This interesting and valuable document, containing in the original draft sixty-two and a half large folio pages, will form part of a second volume of our Documentary History, to be published in the course of the present year.

It is with no unworthy pride that the Maine Historical Society now presents to the public this, their first documentary volume, richly freighted with rare and authentic materials, as a valuable contribution to American history.

I cannot close these introductory remarks without tendering my grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D., Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, for his very valuable aid in preparing this volume for the press. His wide historical researches, and critical judgment, have supplemented my many deficiencies. The *Index*, carefully prepared and arranged by him, gives additional value to the volume, and will be cordially welcomed by historical students.

WILLIAM WILLIS.

A HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,
PARTICULARLY THE COAST OF MAINE;
FROM THE
NORTHMEN IN 990,
TO THE
CHARTER OF GILBERT IN 1578.
BY J. G. KOHL,
OF BREMEN, GERMANY.
ILLUSTRATED BY COPIES OF THE EARLIEST MAPS AND CHARTS.

L'ensemble des faits, auquel
nous donnons le nom d'histoire
n'est qu' une portion—portion
encore mutilée et rompue—des
annales du genre humain.

WALCKENAER.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION,	17

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE GULF AND COAST OF MAINE.

1. Introductory Remarks,	31
2. General Configuration of the Continent of North America,	32
3. The four Great Gulfs of the East Coast of North America,	33
4. Name of the Gulf between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia,	35
5. Size and General Configuration of the Gulf of Maine,	36
6. Soundings,	38
7. The Fishing Banks and Shoals,	39
8. Currents,	41
9. Tides,	43
10. Climate, Temperature, Winds, Fogs,	44
11. Deviation of the Magnetic Needle,	47
12. Capes, Headlands, Peninsulas, Indentations,	47
1. Cape Cod,	49
2. Cape Ann,	50
3. Cape Elizabeth,	50
4. Cape Sable,	51
13. Islands,	52
14. Harbors, Bays, and Inlets,	53
15. Rivers,	54

CHAPTER II.

DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. Introductory Remarks,	57
2. Discovery of Iceland and Greenland,	60
3. First Discovery of New England by Biarne,	62

4. Voyages of Leif, Erik's Son, and First Settlement in "Vinland" (New England),	63
5. Voyages and Discoveries of Thorwald, Erik's Son, in "Vinland," .	66
6. Unsuccessful Attempt of Thorstein, Erik's Son, to reach "Vinland" again,	70
7. Voyage of Thorfinn Karlsefne to "Vinland," and a New Settlement effected there by him,	70
8. Expeditions from Greenland and Iceland to "Vinland," subsequent to those of Thorfinn Karlsefne,	82
9. New England considered by the Northmen to be a part of Europe,	85
10. Reminiscences and Traces of the Northmen among the Indians of New England,	88
11. Voyages of the Venetians, Zeni, in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean at the end of the Fourteenth Century,	92
The Sea-chart of the Zeni,	97

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER II.

Charts for the Northmen.

1. Map, No. 2, of the North-Atlantic Ocean, drawn by the Iclander Sigurdus Stephanus, in 1570,	107
2. Map, No. 3, of the North-Atlantic Ocean, drawn by the Iclander Gudbrandus Torlacius, in 1606,	109

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH TRADING EXPEDITIONS FROM BRISTOL, AND OTHER ENGLISH PORTS, TOWARD THE NORTH-WEST, PRINCIPALLY TO ICELAND, DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.—JOHN OF KOLNO.—COLUMBUS,	111
---	-----

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT TO NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA, IN THE YEARS 1497, 1498.

1. Voyage of John and Sebastian Cabot in the year 1497,	121
2. Voyage of Sebastian Cabot in 1498,	135

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IV.

Charts for the Voyages of the Cabots.

1. Map, No. 4, of the Ocean and Islands between Western Europe and Eastern Asia, from the Globe of Martin Behaim, in 1492, .	147
--	-----

2. Map, No. 5, of the East Coast of North America, by Juan de la Cosa, in 1500,	151
3. Chart, No. 6, of the New World, by Johann Ruysch, 1508,	156
4. Map, No. 7, of North America, from the Globe of Johann Schoner, 1520,	158

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS OF GASPAR AND MIGUEL DE CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-EASTERN COAST OF AMERICA, IN THE YEARS 1500-1503.

1. Introductory Remarks,	164
2. First Voyage of Gaspar Cortereal, in 1500,	166
3. Gaspar Cortereal's Second Voyage, in 1501,	169
4. Searching Voyage of Miguel Cortereal, in 1502,	171

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER V.

Charts for the Cortereal Voyages.

1. Portuguese Chart, No. 8, of the Coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, about 1504,	174
2. Chart, No. 9, of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Greenland, by Pedro Reinel, made about 1505,	177
3. Portuguese Chart, No. 10, of Florida, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, made about 1520,	179

CHAPTER VI.

OFFICIAL AND OTHER VOYAGES, AND SEVERAL PROJECTS OF DISCOVERY FROM ENGLAND, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND FRANCE, SUBSEQUENT TO THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CABOTS AND CORTEREALS.

1. Two Patents of Henry VII. of England, to Navigators, in 1501, 1502.—English Voyages to Newfoundland in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century,	183
2. Portuguese Fishermen on the Newfoundland Banks,	187
3. Voyages to Newfoundland proposed by Juan Dorneles, Juan de Agramonte, and Sebastian Cabot, in 1500, 1511, and 1515,	192
4. French Voyages to the North-east of America, after Cabot and Cortereal,	199
5. An English Voyage to the North-west, said to have been made under the command of Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert, in 1517,	206

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VI.

Charts for the first French Discoveries in "Terre Nueve."

1. Map, No. 11, of New France, composed by the Italian Cosmographer, Giacomo di Gastaldi, in 1550, 226
2. Map, No. 12, of "Tierra Nueva," by G. Ruscelli, 1561, 233

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO THE COAST OF FLORIDA, FROM
COLUMBUS TO AYLLON, FROM 1492 TO 1520.

1. Introductory Remarks, 236
2. Columbus and the East Coast of the United States, 237
3. Expedition of Ponce de Leon from Porto Rico to the East Coast of Florida, in 1513, 240
4. Voyage of Antonio de Alaminos, from Vera Cruz through the Bahama Channel to Spain, in 1519, 243
5. The First Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to Chicora (the Coast of Carolina), in 1520, 245

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITIONS TO THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA UNDER
THE FRENCH, BY VERRAZANO,—THE SPANIARDS, BY GOMEZ,—
AND THE ENGLISH, BY RUT.

1. Expedition of Giovanni da Verrazano, in 1524, 249
2. Expedition of Estevan Gomez along the East Coast of North America, in 1525, 271
3. Expedition of two English ships, the Mary of Guilford, and the Samson, under the command of John Rut, 1527, 281

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VIII.

I. Charts for Verrazano.

1. Map, No. 13, of North America, by Michael Lok, in 1582, 290
2. Map, No. 14, of North America, by Baptista Agnese, 1536, 292
3. Map, No. 15, Four Sketches, a, b, c, d, of North America, by different authors, in 1530-1544, 296

II. Charts for Gomez.

1. Chart, No. 16, of the East Coast of North America, from a Map of the World, by Diego Ribero, in 1529, 299

2. Chart of the East Coast of North America, by Alonzo de Chaves, in 1536, and Oviedo's Description of the Coast, in 1537, . . . 307
3. Map, No. 17, Sketches 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, of the East Coast of the United States, by different authors of the Sixteenth Century, . . 315

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS TO CANADA, IN 1534-1543, AND HORE'S VOYAGE, 1536.

1. First Voyage of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, in 1534, 320
2. Second Voyage of Jacques Cartier to the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, in 1535, 329
3. Voyage of Master Hore, and other Englishmen, to Cape Breton and Newfoundland, in 1536, 337
4. Expedition of Jean François de la Rogue de Roberval and Jacques Cartier to Canada, in 1540 and 1543, 340

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IX.

Charts for Cartier and Roberval.

1. Chart, No. 18a, of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by Gaspar Viegas, 1534, 348
2. Chart, No. 18, on Canada and the East Coast of the United States, from a Map of the World, made in 1543, 351
3. Chart, No. 19, of the East Coast of North America, from the Atlas of N. Vallard de Dieppe, 1543, 354
4. Engraved Map of the World, No. 20, said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544,—and on the Voyage said to have been made by John and Sebastian Cabot in 1494, 358
5. Chart, No. 21, of the North-east of North America, by Diego Homem, 1558, 377
6. Chart, No. 22, of the East Coast of North America, from a Map of the World, by G. Mercator, in 1569, 384

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

1. Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon to Chicora (Carolina), in 1526, 394
2. Expeditions of Fernando de Soto, Diego Maldonado, and Gomez Arias, 1538-1543, 402

CHAPTER XI.

THE EXPEDITIONS UNDER RIBAUT AND LAUDONNIERE TO FLORIDA, AND THE SPANISH AND ENGLISH UNDERTAKINGS CONNECTED WITH THEM, IN 1562-1574.

1. The time between De Soto and Ribault; including Thevet's Description of Maine,	413
2. First Exploring Expedition of Captain Jean Ribault from Havre de Grace to the East Coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, in 1562,	421
3. The Fate of the French Settlement at Port Royal, 1562-1563,	432
4. Second Expedition of the French to Florida under Captain René de Laudonnière, in 1564,	434
5. Voyage of Captain John Hawkins along the Coast of North America, from Florida to Newfoundland, in 1565,	440
6. Third Expedition of the French to Florida under command of Jean Ribault, in 1565,	447
7. Expeditions and Surveys made under Don Pedro Menendez de Avila, on the East Coast of Florida, in 1565-1567,	455
8. French Expedition under Dominique de Gourgues to Florida, in 1567-1568,	462
9. Spanish Survey of the East Coast of Florida, in 1573,	467

CHAPTER XII.

CONCLUSION AND RECAPITULATION.

1. Agency of the Northmen,	477
2. Agency of the English,	478
3. Agency of the Portuguese,	482
4. Agency of the Spaniards,	484
5. Agency of the French,	487
6. Agency of the Italians,	490
7. Agency of the Germans,	493
8. Agency of the Netherlands,	496
APPENDIX,	499
Notice,	501
Letter of M. D'Avezac,	502
INDEX,	515

LIST OF MAPS.

	PAGE
I. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY THE ZENI, <i>Italian</i> , 1400,	97
II. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY STEPHANIUS, <i>Icelander</i> , 1570,	107
III. NORTH ATLANTIC, BY TORLACIUS, <i>Icelander</i> , 1606,	109
IV. BY MARTIN BEHAIM, <i>German</i> , 1492,	147
V. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY JUAN DE LA COSA, <i>Spanish</i> , 1500,	151
VI. NEW WORLD, BY JOHANN RUYSCH, <i>German</i> , 1508,	156
VII. NORTH AMERICA, BY JOHANN SCHONER, <i>German</i> , 1520,	158
VIII. NORTH-EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, ANONYMOUS, <i>Portuguese</i> , 1504,	174
IX. NORTH-EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY PEDRO REI- NEL, <i>Portuguese</i> , 1505,	177
X. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, ANONYMOUS, <i>Portu- guese</i> , 1520,	179
XI. NEW FRANCE, BY GASTALDI, <i>Italian</i> , 1550,	226
XII. TIERRA NUEVA, BY RUSCELLI, <i>Italian</i> , 1561,	233
XIII. NORTH AMERICA, BY MICHAEL LOK, <i>English</i> , 1582,	290
XIV. AMERICA, BY AGNESE, <i>Italian</i> , 1536,	292
XV. NORTH AMERICA (FOUR SKETCHES), 1530-1544,	296
XVI. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY RIBERO, <i>Spanish</i> , 1529,	299
XVII. EAST COAST (SEVEN SKETCHES),	315
XVIIIa. THE GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE, ETC., BY VIEGAS, 1534,	348
XVIII. CANADA AND EAST COAST OF UNITED STATES, ANONY- MOUS, <i>French</i> , 1543,	351
XIX. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY VALLARD, <i>French</i> , 1543,	354
XX. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY SEBASTIAN CA- BOT (?), <i>Spanish</i> , 1544,	358
XXI. NORTH-EAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY HOMEM, <i>Portu- guese</i> , 1558,	377
XXII. EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, BY MERCATOR, <i>Ger- man</i> , 1569,	384

ERRATA.

Page 37, line 12 from bot., for 'eastern' read 'western.'
 " 38, " 8 " top, " 'Bayo' read 'Baye.'
 " 48, " 9.19 " " for 'indentated' read 'indented.'
 " 49, " 9 " " insert 'southern' before 'entrance.'
 " 49, " 1 " bot., for 'Riffs' read 'Reefs.'
 " 52, " 1 " " " 'Islands' read 'inlets.'
 " 55, " 5 " " " 'Piscataquis' read 'Piscataqua.'
 " 64, " 11 " top, for 'they' read 'and.'
 " 215, paging, for '115' read '215.'
 " 228, line 18 from top, for 'Jean' read 'Jacques.'
 " 233, " 17 " bot. " 'Terra' read 'Tierra.'
 " 236, " 20 " " " 'Chan' read 'Khan.'
 " 238, " 2.3 " " " 'conlectures' read 'conjectures.'
 " 359, " 12 " " " 'deñro' read 'de firo.'
 " 375, " 9 " bot. " 'merc hant' read 'merchant.'

INTRODUCTION.

THE Historical Society of the State of Maine honored me, in the month of March of this year, with an invitation to write for them a volume on the history of the discovery of the coast of Maine, which was to be published in the "Collections" of that Society, during the present year.

The volume was to begin with the history of the earliest discoveries made by Europeans on the east coast of North America, in the eleventh century, and proceed with the history of the subsequent discoveries down to the end of the sixteenth century, or to some period beyond the middle of that century, that might appear to be a proper point of division, if it should be found convenient to confine the volume within narrower limits.

This history, while it should include the discovery of the whole length of the eastern coast from Labrador to Florida, was to present a more particular account of all the voyages known to have been made during that period to, or along the coast of Maine, and show, as far as possible, by extracts from the originals, when it had been simply passed by, and observed from a distance, and when it had been seen more nearly, and more fully described.

The work was to be accompanied by fac-simile copies of such maps and charts, manuscript or printed, as would illustrate these discoveries. And it was desired that these maps and charts should be accompanied by such notices of their history, and such explanations of their contents, as would render them both interesting and instructive to the general student.

This was a difficult task; and the more difficult, because it was to be performed in a short time. But feeling a deep interest in the subject, and being to a certain degree prepared for the work by my previous studies, and the collections I had formerly made, I ventured to accept the honorable proposal made to me by the Maine Historical Society; and have tried to meet, in the following volume, the views and wishes

they expressed respecting it, so far as my limited means and powers would permit.

Postponing to CHAPTER I. what I wish to say regarding the physical features of the whole country embraced in our survey, I propose in this Introduction to lay before the reader my manner of proceeding in the work I have undertaken; and, in this view, will now make some explanations; *first*, with regard to the history I am to give of the discovery of North America, and the limits within which it is to be confined; and, *secondly*, with regard to the maps by which this history is to be illustrated, the principles on which they have been selected and arranged, and the manner in which they are treated.

I. ON THE HISTORY.

1. *Its starting point.*

There may have been European navigators on the east coast of North America before the time of the Northmen; but of this we have only vague traditions and uncertain rumors. The first well-ascertained expeditions from Europe to these regions were made by the Northmen, or Scandinavians, near the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. The documents relating to these voyages are for the most part preserved in the well-written annals of Iceland. As the north-east coast of America was first seen and described by these Scandinavian adventurers in the eleventh century, our history ought therefore to begin with them.

2. *Its concluding point.*

After the discoveries of the Northmen, but more particularly after those of Columbus and the Cabots at the end of the fifteenth century, there followed a succession of expeditions to the east coast of North America, undertaken by English, Portuguese, French, and Spanish navigators, which may be generally characterized as diverse in their objects, disconnected in their plans, often separated from each other by long intervals of time, and unproductive of any great or permanent results. The period, during which this long succession of voyages took place, from that of Biarne in 990, in which the coast of North America was first seen by Europeans, to that of Sir John Hawkins in 1565, in which he sailed along the whole extent of our east coast,—a period of nearly six centuries,—may be justly regarded as the *early* period in the history of the discovery of North America, during which indeed the coast became gradually better known; but in which nothing was accomplished for the settlement of the country.

But at last, toward the end of the sixteenth century, a new era

dawned. Those two great and sagacious sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France, began to pay more attention to the new world, and particularly to that part of it which lay opposite to their western coasts. Then commenced an uninterrupted succession of expeditions to these transatlantic coasts, led on by Gilbert and Raleigh, by De Monts and Champlain, who were supported by the commissions of their own sovereigns, and zealous to defend their rival pretensions. The east coast was now explored more minutely, and illustrated by better reports and better charts; particularly the coast of Maine, on which the rival claims of England and France came more immediately into conflict; and, what is more important, permanent colonies were now for the first time established.

It thus appears that, between the second voyage of Hawkins in 1565, and the first voyage of Gilbert and Raleigh under the letters-patent of 1578, there is a natural division in the history of American discovery, into an *early* and a *later* period. The termination of the early period will naturally form the concluding point of the historical narrative contained in this volume.

3. *Its contents, their arrangement, and distribution into chapters.*

As discoverers and colonizers of North America, the Northmen stand forth in the middle ages foremost and alone, without allies or rivals. Hence I have brought together all that is known of their successive expeditions, and have treated of them in CHAPTER II, adding to them only the little I have to say regarding the brothers Vadino, Genoese, and the brothers Zeni, Venetians, who appear to have sailed at nearly the same time, and in nearly the same direction, with the Northmen.

The old Scandinavian spirit at last died away. The expeditions of the Northmen to America gradually ceased, and their colonies in America were destroyed. Nevertheless, their knowledge of the west was never quite forgotten by them, being perpetuated by their traditions. The connection of their colonies in Iceland with Europe, and particularly with England, was never entirely broken off. The English and Hanse towns, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, maintained a lively commercial intercourse with Iceland on the old north-western route from Europe to America. This probably was not without an influence on the subsequent undertakings of Columbus and the Cabots. Columbus visited Iceland in the year 1477, and in 1497 the Cabots sailed from Bristol, the port which was the chief emporium of the intercourse between England and Iceland, for the discovery of North America. These trading expeditions from England to Iceland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, following next in

order after the expeditions of the Northmen, and forming a connecting link between them and later enterprises, are treated of in CHAPTER III.

Inspired by the example of Columbus, whose discoveries are not here related, but assumed to be known, the Venetians, John and Sebastian Cabot, made their famous voyages of 1497 and 1498, in which North America, if not first discovered, was first re-discovered since the time of the Northmen, and in which almost its entire east coast was first surveyed. To these important voyages of the Cabots, CHAPTER IV. of our volume is devoted.

In imitation of the example of Columbus and of the Cabots, the adventurous Portuguese sent out, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, several exploring expeditions to the north-west under the command of the brothers Cortereal. These expeditions, though they do not appear to have touched the coast of Maine, are still particularly interesting to us, as having thrown much light on the neighboring regions in the north of Maine. They, moreover, conducted Portuguese fishermen to the Banks of Newfoundland; and these fishermen became, at the same time, active explorers of the north-east of America, and furnished the materials for several highly interesting charts of those regions. The expeditions of the Cortereals form the subject of our CHAPTER V.

Tempted by the advantages offered in the regions recently discovered, the Bretons, Normans, and Basques of the west coast of France, and also several English and Portuguese adventurers, followed thither the steps of the Cabots and the Cortereals. The French, with the Portuguese, for nearly the entire sixteenth century, took the lead in the fisheries on the Grand Banks, and in the exploration and delineation of the adjacent coasts. The interest thus created in these regions gave occasion, in France, for several exploring expeditions to the north-east of America; and also, in other countries, to diverse schemes and projects for such expeditions as were never performed. In CHAPTER VI. I have treated of all these expeditions, which followed after the Cortereals, whether simply designed or actually accomplished.

The explorations of our east coast, undertaken by the English, Portuguese, and French, which have been already described, began at Newfoundland in the north, and proceeded thence to the south. The Spanish explorations, on the contrary, usually began in the West Indies, and proceeded thence along the coast of Florida toward the north, and reached sometimes the coasts of New England. CHAPTER VII. treats of these Spanish operations, from the time of Columbus to about the time of Ayllon and Cortes, 1524.

In the years 1524 and 1525, two expeditions were sent out with the

particular object of exploring the east coast of the present United States: the first from France, commanded by Verrazano, an Italian, and the second from Spain, commanded by Gomez, a Spaniard. These expeditions, though proceeding from different countries, were similar in their plans and objects. They were both made at nearly the same time. The one was probably a consequence of the other. Both touched the coast of New England, and particularly of Maine. Through the entire first half of the sixteenth century, there were no other expeditions which contributed so much to the knowledge of these coasts. The expedition of Verrazano produced our best description, and that of Gomez our best chart, of the coast of New England. Each of them was also quite isolated. Neither Gomez in Spain, nor Verrazano in France, had an immediate successor. One English expedition, however, that of the year 1527, was somewhat connected with them, as to its date, its purposes, and its results. In view of these considerations, I have separated these two eminently important expeditions from the rest, and treated them together in CHAPTER VIII, to which, however, I have added the contemporary English voyage of 1527.

After Verrazano, the French paused for about ten years, and then renewed their efforts for the exploration of some section of the east coast neglected by him. From 1534 to 1543, at the suggestion of Cartier, one of their most eminent navigators, and under the commission of Francis I, they undertook a series of expeditions to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, by which, at last, the entire geography of this region was disclosed. These expeditions gave rise to some admirable reports and maps, which are especially interesting to us from the intimate relations existing between the regions described and the State of Maine. The history of this series of expeditions is given in CHAPTER IX. I have added to it, however, a short report of an unsuccessful English expedition, made to the same regions at the same time. Nearly all the English expeditions of the sixteenth century are so disconnected that they cannot be easily grouped together. Sometimes there are feeble imitations of the enterprises of other nations, or at the best, results of them; and I have therefore thought it proper to dispose of them, as in this case, under the head of some greater undertaking of some other nation, to which they seem to be most nearly related with respect to time, and perhaps also to plan.

In CHAPTER X. I have given an account of the continuation of the Spanish expeditions, including that of Ayllon to Chicora, in 1526; that of De Soto to the Mississippi, and that of Maldonado and Arias along the east coast of North America, in the years 1538-1543.

After the extensive explorations of Verrazano and Cartier, the

French gave the name of New France to a large section of North America, and sometimes even to the whole American continent; and they continued to navigate thither, especially to the Banks of Newfoundland and the neighboring coasts. Until near the close of the century they took the lead of other nations in the affairs of North America. At the time of their religious wars, soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, the Huguenots, who had friends in some of the western ports, desired to find upon the east coast of North America a suitable place, where they might establish a new home for the adherents of their religion, condemned and persecuted as heretical in France. They commenced, therefore, in the year 1562, a series of exploring and planting expeditions, under the command of their captains Ribault and Laudonniere, to the coasts of "French Florida," the name given by them to the region included in our present States of Georgia and South Carolina. On these expeditions some new and shorter oceanic routes were discovered, which afterwards became common, and were used in sailing to the coasts of New England. By these French expeditions to Florida, the Spaniards were also attracted to the same regions, and under their great navigator, Don Pedro Menendez, explored a great part of the east coast. The English also followed the French, under the command of Sir John Hawkins, and, conducted by French pilots, sailed from thence along the entire east coast of North America. Still another expedition, connected in a similar manner with these expeditions of the French Huguenots, and accompanied and described by the celebrated French cosmographer, André Thevet, sailed along the east coast, and came to anchor in Penobscot Bay. On the breaking up of this Huguenot colony, under the assaults of the Spaniards and the neglect of their own government, some of the colonists took refuge in England, where their reports and maps on the beautiful country of "French Florida" were the means of arousing the English nation to those enterprises, which ended at last in the establishment of the colony of "Virginia." In CHAPTER XI. I have treated on all the English, French, and Spanish expeditions here alluded to. The voyages of Ribault and Hawkins, described in this chapter, being the immediate precursors of the voyages of Gilbert and Raleigh, with which the *later* period commences, form the appropriate conclusion of our historical report.

In a concluding chapter, CHAPTER XII, I have summed up the whole contents of the volume; but discarding the chronological arrangement before adopted, have distributed this recapitulation under the heads of the different nations participating in the enterprises and discoveries herein described.

4. *General remarks.*

1.) In the history of the discovery of the east coast of North America, which I have given in these chapters, I have always had special reference to the discovery of Maine, as the particular object of this volume. I have accordingly described the discovery of the other, and especially the more remote sections of the coast, less fully, and in more general terms; and at the end of the chapters, in which these other sections have been treated, have stated the influence which their discovery may have had on the discovery of Maine; while I have at the same time given prominence to all those voyages and explorations which were intended directly for the coast of Maine, or in which it was incidentally observed and surveyed, taking care to give in full the original passages, in which this coast and the coasts adjacent to it are described. This particular coast, and also the entire east coast of the United States, are, as the reader will observe, often spoken of by me throughout the work, as *our coasts*. In using this expression, adopted sometimes for the sake of brevity, and sometimes for the sake of variety, I have not intended to convey the impression of my being a citizen of the State of Maine, or of any other State of the Union, but have rather allowed myself, almost unconsciously, to identify myself with my subject.

2.) The further we advance into our subject, and the more active the nations as well as individuals appear on the stage, the greater becomes the difficulty of grouping the whole mass of partially connected and disconnected enterprises in a strictly chronological order. Sometimes a series of voyages having the same object, and following the same route, and growing out one from the other, was prosecuted in one and the same country for a long course of years; while during the same period of time, expeditions and explorations were undertaken from other countries. In observing, therefore, a strict chronological order, and relating these enterprises year by year, as several Spanish authors, for instance Herrera and Barcia have done, I should have been forced to transport myself and the reader continually from one country to another, and there would have been no end of the breaking and the mending of the thread of the story. It appeared, therefore, to be evidently better, that, putting aside chronology, we should follow out the enterprises of one nation to a proper stopping-place, and then go back and resume the consideration of the contemporaneous enterprises of another nation.

But on the other hand, the division of the subject according to nations, which has been adopted by Forster, and other historians, has also its great inconveniences, if strictly and exclusively followed. The maritime enterprises of any particular nation, the English for example,

were, as a general thing, undertaken not so much from causes originating at home, as operating from abroad, and could not be justly described, without keeping in view the parallel enterprises of friendly or hostile nations, of the allied or rival powers.

From these considerations I have followed in my work a middle course, arranging its materials, partly according to the order of time, partly according to that of nationality. If I have met a group of connected enterprises, undertaken in one country, or under the influence of a single individual, I have traced it from beginning to end; and then arranged it chronologically with other groups, formed in a similar manner.

3.) With respect to the sources from which I have taken the data for my historical report, I have to make the following remarks. It has been my endeavor to obtain the best and earliest editions of the works on which I have relied as my authorities. But it has not always been possible for me to obtain the "best editions;" nor always, indeed, any editions of some works which I have wished to consult. In these cases, I have contented myself with secondary sources. I may say, however, that I have seen and consulted most of the great authorities in this department of learning, preserved in the libraries of Germany, Paris, the British Museum, Oxford, New York, Boston, and Cambridge; all of which, in the course of my travels, I have formerly visited for the purpose of collecting materials for a general history of the discovery of America.

It was my first intention to give an account of the standard works on the topics discussed at the beginning of each chapter; but this might have rendered the volume too bulky. Instead of this I have taken care to refer the reader, in foot-notes, to the works consulted, and the editions used. I trust, therefore, he will be satisfied of the solidity of my literary foundation.

II. ON THE MAPS.

Geographical maps and charts have been composed from time immemorial. The ancient Greeks and Romans, and after them the Arabs, composed maps. Even the Northmen of the middle ages did the same, so far as they were able. In the era of modern discovery, it became customary for explorers to draw, during each expedition, a chart, marking the configuration, and the latitude and longitude of the new country seen by them. These original charts of the discoverers themselves, made from actual survey, drawn on board their ships, or composed soon after they had reached home, with the assistance of their journals and notes, would be, if we possessed them, invaluable historical documents.

But the instances are rare in which they have been preserved. They came at first into the hands of hydrographers and map-makers, who copied and reduced them, and embodied their contents in the general maps of the world, or so-called "Portolanos,"—sailing-charts,—which they composed for the instruction of the public, or the uses of navigation. After having been employed in this manner, they were consigned to oblivion. A similar fate soon overtook the copies and compilations made from them. For a time, indeed, those great and splendid pictures of the new world, which were composed from the original charts of the great discoverers, had great celebrity, and were held in high estimation; but only for a time. We hear of new maps, which were hung up by kings in their palaces; and of others, which were discussed in the academies, and sent from city to city for the inspection of the learned. They were studied, copied, engraved, and painted over and over again; but only so long as they were *new*. When another *new* map appeared, which occurred often and after short intervals, the old map disappeared from the palace and the academy, and was laid aside and forgotten.

The maps which through age had become erroneous, were considered good for nothing, and even held in contempt; though their errors often had some good reason, and at least showed the ideas of their authors, and of the times in which they were composed. They sometimes contained excellent intimations of the better views which afterwards prevailed.

For these and other reasons it may be justly said, that there is no class of historical documents on which the "tooth of time" has been more busy, more cruel and destructive, than on old maps,—those compiled, as well as those made from actual survey, the manuscript, as well as the engraved and printed. We could point out some maps engraved and printed only a few hundred years ago, and then existing in hundreds or thousands of copies, of which now scarcely a copy is left, which is valued by amateurs at its weight in gold.

Nevertheless it has happened, that by chance and good fortune, a considerable number of old maps and charts has been preserved to our times, either in the public archives, or in the old State libraries of the nations of Europe. But even these maps and charts, which had been spared by all-destroying time, were scarcely noticed by the historians and geographers of the last century; sharing the neglect with which, during that period, Gothic buildings and other mediæval monuments were regarded. Indeed, during this interval, the old maps and charts were never invested with the dignity of historical documents. Even

those most learned and intelligent French geographers, D'Anville and Delille, who were still living in the time of our grandfathers, felt no interest in old maps, and did nothing to recover or preserve them; though they would have found in them some information not to be obtained elsewhere, and might have used them to illustrate and adorn their geographical works.

Historians, geographers, explorers, and travelers have sometimes laid down on their maps and charts certain facts, of which they have omitted to speak in their reports and books, finding it easier to speak to the eye than to the ear; or rather to convey the information they wished to impart, by using the brief and compact delineations of the map, instead of the diffuse and cumbersome phraseology of the book.

It is not seldom the case, that an old map will contain the only information we possess concerning some expedition or discovery. To give a single instance: our books and manuscripts give us very imperfect information about those highly interesting expeditions which Cortes ordered to be made in the Gulf of California, and along the western shores of the Californian peninsula. A chart of these regions, which was made by a contemporary of Cortes, and which, near the end of the last century, was discovered and published in Mexico, furnishes a most satisfactory supplement to our knowledge on this subject.

Moreover, the map-makers of former times were not content with merely giving the outline and name of a particular region, but they often affixed to it some inscription, legend, or notice, in which they informed the reader what kind of people lived there, what animals and plants were raised there, and, occasionally, by whom and when it was discovered. Now and then remarks like these are seen on those old maps: "In the year 1500 the Spaniard Bastidas sailed as far as this point;" or, "Here Solis was killed;" or, "In the present year Garay has gone out to this country, but is not come back as yet." We often see jotted down on the old maps, all kinds of observations, conjectures, and hypotheses, from which we can learn the ideas and notions which were current at the time when they were composed. These old maps were often highly embellished with pictures of the mountains, the forests, the animals, the cities of the newly-discovered countries, of their aboriginal inhabitants, and of the discoverer and his companions in their antique armor and costume, and the flags and crosses erected by them; to say nothing of the monsters in the surrounding waters, and the ships sailing among them to and fro; in great contrast with the dry and purely scientific character of our modern maps.

This will suffice,* at present, to show the great importance of the old maps and charts in the history of discovery. In more modern times this importance has come to be more generally acknowledged. Near the beginning of this century, a praiseworthy antiquarian enthusiasm was awakened; and under this impulse historians and geographers began to search after old maps in the archives and libraries of the different States of Europe; and when they were found, to have them carefully copied, collected, and published; thus repairing, as far as possible, the mischief resulting from the carelessness of former times, and restoring these lost documents to the common treasury of knowledge. To recite all that has been done in this way since the beginning of the nineteenth century by learned individuals and by scientific bodies, would be aside from my present purpose. Suffice it to say, that no work on the history of American discovery would now be regarded as complete, unless illustrated by copies of the old maps and charts, appropriate to the country of which it treats.

In accordance with these views, and with the wishes expressed by the Maine Historical Society, I have in this work paid particular attention to the subject of maps. From all which offered themselves for illustrating the discovery of the east coast of North America, and particularly of the coast of Maine, I have selected, in preference, those which come nearest to the first charts; those, too, made from actual survey, by the explorers themselves; and next to these, such as were made by distinguished contemporary cosmographers, and which are specially valuable, as exhibiting the leading geographical notions and ideas then prevailing.

The arrangement of the maps is attended with some difficulties. If there were a separate original chart for each distinct discovery, there could be no question, but that it should be placed in connection with the history of that discovery. But generally, even the earlier maps are only later compilations, and exhibit the results of several explorations made in different periods and distant places. However, even in such instances, there is commonly, on each map, some one discovery which constitutes its most prominent feature, and gives it a special interest. I have, therefore, arranged the maps according to their prominent and characteristic features, and annexed them to the chapters to which they are related by their principal or most important contents. In doing this, I have not omitted to notice those contents of the maps which are

*I take the liberty to refer the reader to a lecture on the subject of the old maps, delivered by me in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, and published in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of that Institution for the year 1856, pp. 93-147, where the subject is treated more fully.

of secondary and subordinate interest; and to connect them also, by references, with the chapters to which they are related by their subjects, to which they afford some illustration, and from which they receive in turn some explanation. And as the chapters and the maps are both numbered, the connection between them can be easily indicated.

I might have embodied the maps in the chapters they were designed to illustrate; but I have thought it preferable to place them in an "Appendage" at the end of these chapters, and to give the history and explain the contents of each map in a separate section of this Appendage. If, on this method, repetitions could not be wholly avoided, they are certainly reduced to the smallest possible number. In our examination of the maps it will often appear, that they not only confirm the facts related in our history, but often furnish additional information.

In accepting the proposals made to me by the Maine Historical Society, I understood, as they did, that fac-similes of the original maps were to be furnished. But in the strict sense of the term, a fac-simile is, in my opinion, an impossibility; and furthermore, if it could be had, it would avail nothing for our purpose. Whether fac-similes should be furnished, must always be a question of degree. To give a perfect fac-simile, one must make a copy of the old maps of the size, with the handwriting, with the gold and silver embellishments, with the yellow, red, and blue coloring; nay, with the very material, the rich vellum, of the originals,—a proceeding beyond the means ordinarily possessed either by individuals or societies.

In giving fac-similes of the old maps, it cannot certainly be understood, that the enormous size of some of them should be retained. I have, therefore, reduced them to more convenient dimensions. The reduced copy is not, however, necessarily a less exact copy of the original, than an enlarged copy would be.

Nor would a fac-simile necessarily require, that the rich coloring of the old maps should be followed in the copy. However much this might add to the beauty of the map, it would add nothing to its historical value. From all these various and costly colors, I have therefore retained only two; blue for the water, and black for the outlines of the firm land, and for the names.

Nor have I undertaken to reproduce exactly the quaint and often illegible handwriting, in which the names and inscriptions are written on the old maps; differing in fashion in different periods, different nations, and in different maps of the same period and nation. To have done this, would have been to throw a great deal of heavy work upon the reader. I have, therefore, taken this labor upon myself, and have written all the names and inscriptions in a uniform style, and in our

current letters. And if it should appear to the reader, that on this plan he finds, in the case of doubtful names, nothing but my own private opinion; it might be a question, whether he would fare better, in being left to decipher them for himself. Besides, my rendering of the old names, in many cases, is the same as had been given before by learned geographers, and is commended to the reader by their high authority.

To guard against all error in this matter, I have stated in my account of each map how far, and in what sense, it may be considered a facsimile copy of the original.

At all events, the reader will understand, that in reducing the size of the old maps, and in modernizing their handwriting, I have not made my task any easier. The method I have adopted, and which I think is an invention of my own, is no labor-saving contrivance. It would have been a far easier task for me, to place the original in the hands of a competent artist, and simply to have required of him an exact and faithful copy.

I will add nothing to these introductory remarks, but the expression of my hearty wish, that the manner in which I have performed the difficult work assigned to me, and have solved the many intricate problems connected with it, may prove to be satisfactory to the members of the Historical Society of Maine, and to the patriotic citizens of that State, and that they will be kindly disposed to excuse its manifold imperfections.

BREMEN (Germany), 29 August, 1868.

DISCOVERY OF THE COAST OF MAINE.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE GULF AND COAST OF MAINE.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE first navigators and explorers of our coasts and waters reconnoitered, and the old map-makers depicted them, only in a very rough and general manner. In introducing a report on their history by a hydrographic description, it is not my intention to go into all the details of the subject. To describe minutely every little harbor or island on the coast, to enter deeply into its geology and geography, in our case would be perfectly superfluous; because all these smaller objects, during the period of time which we have to examine, never came into consideration. They were not observed by the first explorers, who from time to time, often after long intervals, appeared on our shores, sweeping along them in good or bad weather; and were never represented on their charts, or mentioned in their reports. They became important only at a later date, when our regions were oftener visited, and when the nature and value of every spot and corner for commercial purposes or settlement, were better estimated. For such a later period, a more detailed examination no doubt would become necessary.

Here it will be sufficient and proper, to give only a general description of the coast, and to point out those very prominent physical features, which from the beginning of the discovery of America by Europeans came into notice, by which the old mariners and cosmographers themselves were struck, and which can serve us for the better understanding of their doings, writings, and charts.

2. GENERAL CONFIGURATION OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

The continent of North America, of which the territory of the present State of Maine is but a very small part, may be said to form an irregular quadrilateral region of dry land, a kind of rhomboid of colossal proportions facing on all sides, with only one small exception, the salt-water.

This great quadrangle is broad in the north, and somewhat contracted toward the south.

The southern coast-line, along the shores of the American Mediterranean Sea, and more particularly of the Gulf of Mexico, is, therefore, not very extended. In a rough measure, and as far as the great mass of the continent goes, it is about 1500 miles long. And the continent, by a long and gigantic bridge of countries, is united there to its sister continent, South America. By this bridge, or isthmus, the coast-line is broken, the surrounding waters interrupted, and the form of the quadrangle made still more irregular.

The northern or arctic coast-line runs from Behring Strait in the west, to Labrador and the north coast of Newfoundland in the east, where it ends at Cape Race. It has an enormous extent of more than four thousand miles, and faces the arctic waters, which, for the greater part of the year are frozen over or filled with icebergs and not navigable. Though upon the whole it runs from west-north-west to east

south-east, still it is made very irregular by great peninsulas, large islands, bays, and gulfs, deviating from the general trending of the coast-line. The largest and most important of these bays of the arctic coast is Hudson's Bay. And by far the largest island in its neighborhood is Greenland, from which the continent is separated by the broad and gigantic channel of Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay.

The west coast extends from Behring Strait to Mexico and to the above-mentioned Central American bridge, or isthmus. It has, likewise, an extended length of about four thousand miles, a general trending from north north-west to south south-east, facing the Pacific Ocean. It has many peninsulas and gulfs, which project beyond the general coast-line. The largest of them are the peninsulas of California, the gulf of the same name in the south, and the peninsula of Alaska and Behring's Sea in the north.

The east coast of North America extends from Cape Florida in the south, to Cape Race in the north, with a general length of about two thousand miles. It is, on the whole, pretty straight-lined, and has a general trending from south-west to north-east, facing the Atlantic Ocean. It, therefore, more exactly should be called the *south-east* coast of North America. But for brevity, we may be allowed to adopt the name *east* coast.

3. THE FOUR GREAT GULFS OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

On the east coast of North America, of which the territory of the State of Maine forms a prominent part, are five projecting points, or peninsulas, which stand out more to the east of the general coast-line.

1. In the south, the southern part of the peninsula of Florida.

2. The broad peninsula of North Carolina, ending in Cape Hatteras.

3. The peninsula of New England, running out with Cape Cod.

4. The great hammer-like peninsula of Nova Scotia, offering a long coast to the ocean.

5. The south-western peninsula of Newfoundland, projecting to the east with Cape Race.

These peninsulas and capes form and hold between them four large gulfs or bays, namely, the following:

1. Between Cape Florida and Cape Hatteras is a broad and not very deep gulf, which has its most interior part on the coast of the State of Georgia, and which we, therefore, might call the Gulf of Georgia.

2. To the north of it, between Cape Hatteras and the peninsula of New England, is included a similar not very deep gulf, which, from the principal State and port on its shores, might, perhaps, be called the Gulf of New York.

3. Between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia is formed a somewhat smaller, but more marked gulf, on which we shall have to treat here somewhat more particularly.

4. By Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Canada is confined a gulf, which has only two narrow outlets to the south and north of Newfoundland, is nearly everywhere surrounded by land, and might, therefore, be called a Mediterranean Basin. It has a somewhat square form, and, therefore, in ancient times, was called "Golfo quadrado" (the square-shaped gulf). After the discovery of the River St. Lawrence emptying into it, it obtained the name, Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The discovery and history of all these gulfs is more or less connected with the history of the gulf and coast of Maine, which stands in the midst of them. I shall, therefore, have

to allude to them often, and it was necessary to point them out in a general way, and to state under what names I intended to mention them.

I now will try to delineate somewhat more particularly the principal features of the Gulf of Maine, as far as they are of interest to us.

4. NAME OF THE GULF BETWEEN CAPE COD AND NOVA SCOTIA.

The gulf between Cape Cod and Nova Scotia, though it forms a very marked and peculiar piece of water, has, up to this day, no generally adopted name. Usually, in our geographical works and maps, it is left without any name whatever.

The first Spanish describers of this coast sometimes used for it, as will appear hereafter, the name, "Arcipelago de Tramontana" (the Northern Archipelago), or, from the first Spanish explorer, "Arcipelago de Gomez" (the Archipelago of Gomez).

The old French fishermen, who visited it sometimes, from the great banks, probably gave to it the name "The Gulf" or "Sea, of Norumbega," which latter was their name for the country stretched out along our gulf.

At a later time, when the English colony of Massachusetts was established, the name "Bay of Massachusetts" was introduced, and sometimes applied to the entire gulf, though this name at present is usually given to only a small section of it.

Because the gulf is formed by the peninsula of New England, and because the principal States and harbors of New England stretch along its coasts, the name of "Gulf of New England" would be a very proper appellation.

The name, "Gulf of Maine," was proposed and used

in the year 1832 by the Edinburgh Encyclopedia,* and in more modern times by officers of the United States Coast Survey. This name is particularly appropriate, because the State of Maine stretches along the inner parts of the gulf, and occupies by far the greater section of its coasts, and especially those which are most characteristic of these waters. Moreover, Maine-built vessels and Maine sailors are the most numerous *coasters* of the gulf. And last, but not least, the name is shorter and more euphonious than all the others, and probably, therefore, will soon come into general use.

For these reasons I am inclined to adopt in my work the name of "Gulf of Maine," though, for the sake of variety, I may also, in some cases, use the name of "Gulf of New England."

5. SIZE AND GENERAL CONFIGURATION OF THE GULF OF MAINE.

The Gulf of Maine has a much more marked form and figure than the two other great gulfs of the United States mentioned above. Its principal body begins in the north at Cape Sable, with the rectangular or square-shaped southern end of Nova Scotia. From Cape Sable the coast-line runs for some distance to the north-west, and a continuation of this line strikes the coast of Maine at Quoddy Head, at the distance of somewhat more than one hundred miles from Cape Sable.

From Quoddy Head, the general line of the coast runs for about 160 miles as far as Cape Elizabeth, to the west south-west. But there it begins to trend more decidedly to the south-west and south, and, in the vicinity of Boston, it turns round to the south-east and east toward Cape Cod and the

* See the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Philadelphia edition, 1832, by Thos. Parker. Vol. XVIII, p. 263. Article, "United States."

Nantucket Shoals, forming in this manner a kind of semi-circular line of about 150 miles in length.

Cape Sable and the peninsula of Cape Cod may be called the outposts or entrance-cafes of the gulf. They are about 230 miles distant from each other. And this may be considered the base-line, or the breadth of the gulf. From this base-line to the inner parts of the gulf at the coast of Maine is about a distance of 120 miles, which may be called the depth of the gulf.

Summing up this, the Gulf of Maine may be described as a *square-shaped or somewhat semicircular basin*, of a depth, from south-east to north-west, of 120 miles ; and of a width or breadth, from north-east to south-west, of about 230 miles.

Everywhere in old reports and charts of the east coast of America, where we meet in our latitudes a semicircular bay of about the said size and figure, we may presume that the Gulf of Maine has been meant.

From this regular form adopted for it, the Gulf of Maine shows, however, one very remarkable deviation or exception. The "square" or "semicircle" is not closed in the north-east corner. There, on the contrary, the basin opens and runs out between the north-eastern coast of Nova Scotia and the south-eastern coast of New Brunswick, into a broad and long appendage or bay, which again, at its eastern end, separates into two narrow branches, running out toward the north and east.

This somewhat hidden bay appears to have been very little known to the early Spanish and French official explorers of our coast. It is not clearly indicated in the reports of Verrazano (1524), nor in those of Gomez (1525). But we find on the first old Spanish maps, in the latitude where it ought to be, names like these: "Rio hondo" or fondo (a deep river), or "Bahia honda" or fonda (a deep

bay); or "Golfo" (a gulf); once, also, "La Bahia de la Ensenada" (the bay of the deep inlet). I presume that these were Spanish names for that bay. There is no doubt that the early Portuguese and French fishermen of the Great Bank also visited and knew this bay, so rich in fish. We see it depicted on their charts, but without a name. Afterward, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French gave to it the name "La Bayo Françoise" (the French Bay). But this name has disappeared, probably because it was not acceptable to the English settlers. The present name of the gulf is "Bay of Fundy," which, however, on maps of the seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century especially, is written "Bay of Funda." I believe, therefore, that this modern name grew out *from*, and is a revival *of*, the old Spanish name, "Bahia fonda."

If we unite the Bay of Fundy with its two interior branches, and the Gulf of Maine, taking them as a whole, we may say, that the entire piece of water in its configuration is very much like the figure of a colossal turnip with a broad head, a small body, and two thin roots.

6. SOUNDINGS.

The soundings of the Gulf of Maine, and the nature of its submarine bottom, have not for us a very urgent interest. We will enter into their examination only so far as is necessary to prove, that there existed in this gulf no great obstacles to navigation; that it was rather inviting for the old mariners; and that they easily, and without great danger, might sail from one end of the gulf to the other in all directions.

The entire central parts of the gulf between the peninsulas of Nova Scotia and New England present a large sheet of navigable water of a mean depth of about one

hundred fathoms. This depth comes very near to the shores of the continent. The fifty-fathom line runs nearly everywhere along the coast at a distance of only about sixteen miles, and sometimes comes much nearer. In this respect, the Gulf of Maine, in comparison with the two other great gulfs of the United States, is quite peculiar. At the south of Cape Cod, in the "Gulf of New York," the fifty-fathom line remains at a distance of more than sixty miles from the coast.

From the fifty-fathom line the soundings in the Gulf of Maine decrease very gradually toward the rocky coasts to twenty and ten fathoms. This latter depth enters into many bays and inlets, and runs sometimes deep into the interior of the country. We may say, therefore, that the cliffs, islands, and rocky shores of Maine are everywhere surrounded by navigable and convenient soundings of a middling depth.

7. THE FISHING BANKS AND SHOALS.

From the bottom of the ocean, surrounding the coast of Maine and the neighboring countries, rise several large and small more or less elevated plateaus, the surface of which lies not very deep under the level of the sea, and which are called banks.

The most extended of these plateaus or banks begins opposite Newfoundland, to the east of it. It stretches out in its greatest length north and south from about 50° to 42° north latitude, with an average breadth of about 150 miles, and has been called, from time immemorial, "The Great Bank," or "The Grand Bank of Newfoundland."

From the middle parts of this great bank a long chain of smaller banks runs out to the west and south-west a long way. This chain begins on the south of Newfoundland with the St. Peter's Bank, having the smaller Whale Bank and Green

Bank to the south of it. To the south of Cape Breton Island, stands the Middle Bank and the Banquereau. To the south of Nova Scotia stands Sable Island Bank, with the remarkable island of the same name, and further to the south-west, Roseway and Le Have Bank, formerly also called Brown's Bank.

The western end of this chain of banks approaches the Gulf of Maine in the George's Bank, and still nearer in the Nantucket Shoals at the east of the peninsula of Cape Cod ; and enters this Gulf in Jeffrey's Bank and Jeffrey's Ledge along the coasts of New Hampshire and Maine.

All these banks, having pretty deep water above them, are generally no obstacle to navigation. Only a few very shoal places on the Great Bank are an exception ; and also that sandy low Sable Island, famous for its dangers and shipwrecks. St. George's Bank has also some bad shoals, and the Nantucket Shoals form a whole nest of reefs dangerous to navigation. Also on "Cashe's Ledge," in the midst of the Gulf of Maine, a few dangerous soundings have been discovered.

All the said banks, more particularly the "Great Bank," are the breeding-places of innumerable little animals, which serve as food for several sorts of fish. Herring, salmon, haddock, and other valuable fish resort to them in great numbers. But above all, the most important of them, the cod, called by the French "La Morue," by the Italians "Merluzzo," by the Germans "Kabeljau," by the Spaniards and Portuguese "Bacallaos."

This most historical of all the fishes of the sea has its principal habitat through the whole northern half of the Atlantic Ocean, from the coasts of Europe between 50° and 60° north latitude to the coasts of America from 58° down to 42° north latitude. On the coasts of Europe in Norway, Germany,

France, Great Britain, the Shetlands, etc., it was hunted after by the fishermen of these countries from time immemorial ; and also for a very long time in the vicinity of Iceland, where, principally in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and also before and after, it was the standard article of commerce. At the end of the fifteenth century the western end of the cod-fish region on the above-mentioned banks of North America was discovered, which, in richness of fish, surpassed all the rest, and which soon attracted there the French, the Basques, the Portuguese, and also the English fishermen, merchants, and navigators in great numbers ; so that the cod-fish gave occasion for the better exploration and settlement of these regions.

The chain of cod-fishing banks, which, as I have said, ended in the Gulf of Maine, led the European repeatedly to the coasts of Maine, to Cape Cod, and to the Bay of Fundy ; which latter bay, in this direction, was about the last refuge and hiding-place of the every-where hunted cod-fish.

8. CURRENTS.

On the details of the currents in the Gulf of Maine we have as yet very little exact knowledge. The general movement and tendency of the waters in this basin, I believe, may be described thus :

The cold arctic current comes down in a south-western direction along the south-east coast of Nova Scotia as far as Cape Sable. From this cape it continues its initial direction, setting across the broad entrance line of the Gulf of Maine, and drawing with it the waters of the south-west coast of Nova Scotia from Bryer's Island to Cape Sable, which there, consequently, will run in a south-eastern direction, uniting themselves with the arctic current.

This arctic current pursues its south-western course toward

Cape Cod and the great submarine plateaus or banks to the east of this cape. By these banks and capes the current is probably divided, and partly turned off. The principal body moves onward with its initial direction along the south coast of New England. But one branch of it turns to the north-west and north along the coasts of Massachusetts and Maine; so that in this manner a somewhat circular movement of the waters takes place in the basin of the Gulf of Maine. I will only add the remark, that the soundings, being deepest in the midst of the gulf, appear to support and prove this view.

The north-westerly and northerly current along the coasts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, has been proved by actual experiment of the officers of the United States Coast Survey, who have made regarding it the following observation: "Our experiments have revealed the existence of a coast-current sweeping along the westerly part of Cape Cod Bay, and there taking a course northward. At first it is feeble, but it gathers considerable strength further to the north." *

The existence of such a current may have influenced the reports and charts of early navigators not acquainted with it, and not bringing it into account. Sailing from the north along our coast, and being retarded by the current, such a navigator would be inclined to think his latitude to be more southerly than it really was, and consequently would put on his map Cape Cod, for instance, under a more southern latitude than it has.

The Gulf-stream from Florida runs at some distance along the coast of the United States from south-west to north-east. Many navigators sailed along with it without knowing it. Arriving with the Gulf-stream in sight of Cape Cod and

* See this in the Coast Survey Report of the year 1860, p. 43.

the Nantucket Shoals, they would also be inclined to give to this cape a more southerly latitude than it has. We, therefore, in examining the old charts, should always have in mind the direction of these coast-currents and their probable influence on the operations and on the charts of the old navigators.

9. TIDES.

The rise and fall of the tides in the Gulf of Maine and along its shores are known to be very great. They are the highest on the entire east coast of the United States, and those in the Bay of Fundy, perhaps the highest on the globe.

The spring tides on the shores of the Gulf of Maine sometimes have a rise and fall of more than twenty feet, and in the interior parts of the Bay of Fundy even, it is said, of more than fifty feet. Throughout the whole Gulf of Maine they may be said to have a mean rise and fall of ten feet.

These high tides begin at once north of Cape Cod peninsula, and end at once at the south of it; so that, for instance, the harbor of Plymouth, at the north of Cape Cod, has a mean rise and fall of more than ten feet, whilst the harbor of Hyannis at the south of it, and only a few miles distant from Plymouth, has but a mean rise and fall of about three feet; and from there, these low tides are found along the entire coast development of the United States, as far down as Cape Florida, generally decreasing in this direction, and only exceptionally at some places (for instance, New York) increasing again, though they nowhere arrive to the height of the tides of the Gulf of Maine. So that this gulf, also, in this respect is marked among all the waters of the United States, and makes quite an exceptional and peculiar feature.

* See upon this the Tide-table in Coast Survey Report of the year 1863, p. 86.

These high tides make the inlets and rivers of Maine navigable for large vessels as high as their lowest falls, where they are arrested. They carried the vessels of early navigators as high up into the interior as these falls. They also, in modern times, probably, have facilitated the business of ship-building, one of the principal trades of the population of Maine.

10. CLIMATE, TEMPERATURE, WINDS, FOGS.

The Gulf of Maine may be said to lie between the latitudes of 42° and 45° north. The territory of the State of Maine extends about two degrees further north. It is the most northern among the States of the east coast of the Union. The nature of its climate inclines more to the countries north of it (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc.) than to the States south of Cape Cod. This cape, also, in that respect marks a very striking division. The neighboring countries to the south of it (Rhode Island, etc.) have a much milder climate than those to the north. Even the waters at the north of Cape Cod, throughout the entire Gulf of Maine, are, particularly in summer-time, remarkably colder than those in the south, though in latitude they differ only by a few minutes. The arctic current branches off into the Gulf of Maine and circulates in it, whilst the warm Gulf-stream is directed to the more southerly coast of New England, and warms its waters.

All the shores of the Gulf of Maine, and particularly those of the State of Maine, like Canada, have a climate of extremes. The temperature is said to range between 100° above and 30° below zero of Fahrenheit, and even more. The frosts of winter are nearly uninterrupted, and the lakes and rivers may be passed on ice from the beginning of December to the beginning of April. The harbors on the coast of

Maine, especially that of Portland, are usually open throughout the year. The Canadian line of British Steamers make Portland their winter port. The entire line of sea-coast, however, has a somewhat more moderate climate and temperature, being cooler in summer and warmer in winter than the interior parts.

The country, therefore, was little sought after for settlement by the nations of southern Europe. The Spaniards always considered it to be a too northern and little inhabitable country, even when they had settlements on the coast of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. And the French and English at first, likewise, turned their eyes to the more promising South. The French very early tried settlements in Florida, and the English in North Carolina and Virginia.

With respect to her northern sister countries (Nova Scotia, Canada, Labrador, etc.), Maine is a more southern country. The French, after having in vain tried some plantations in Canada in the beginning of the seventeenth century, resorted to Maine as being milder, and, for some time, thought to give it the preference to Canada. And, in times of old, the Northmen came down from Iceland and Greenland to New England, to make it their favorite country, calling it "*the good country.*"

South-westerly winds, coming from the Atlantic and from the Gulf-stream, warm the waters and shores of the Gulf of Maine, whilst north-westerly winds, coming from Canada and the coldest region of North America, lower the temperature. North-westerly gales come down sometimes with great fury from the mountains and woods in the interior, being the most dreaded winds in the Gulf of Maine. We hear of the influence of north-western gales even in the time of the Northmen.

The Gulf and coast of Maine, like other countries to the

north-east, have always been famous for their fogs. They are often so thick and dense, that sometimes the coast and its inlets are hidden by them for several weeks. Particularly the opening to the Bay of Fundy from time to time is closed by a bank of fog lying before it like a wall.

The cause of these fogs, probably, is to be found in the warm and cold currents of water and air mixing and meeting each other in these regions. The fogs take place with southerly winds, coming from the warm Gulf-stream, oftener than with any other wind. They being warm and moist, and falling upon the cold waters of the Gulf of Maine, are condensed and show their watery contents. Northerly winds, coming from the dry country, and being more of the same temperature with the cold water of the gulf, will clear away these fogs. But they do this only as far as the cool water of the Gulf of Maine and of the arctic current extends. As soon as they enter the warmer column of air above the Gulf-stream water, they, of course, produce these fogs by cooling and condensing the air.

In examining the history of the early navigators we must, also, have in mind the accidents and errors occasioned by the fogs. It is possible that such a large and broad water as the Bay of Fundy, for a long time was not depicted on the official maps of the European kings, *because* their official explorer, at the time of his arrival, could not recognize it from such a bank of fog being stretched out like a range of mountains before its entrance. In the same manner in modern times Sir James Ross, in Lancaster Sound, believed he saw mountains, where there were but fogs, and depicted this sound as land-locked, whilst it had the widest open water in the world.

11. DEVIATION OF THE MAGNETIC NEEDLE.

The deviation of the magnetic needle in our days amounts, in the Gulf of Maine, to a variation of from thirteen to fourteen degrees west. The variation, of course, has been different at different times, and through the course of centuries. As the old navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were little acquainted with this deviation, and could not bring it into account, their tracks and courses, and also their coast-lines, were not truly laid down on their charts. In examining their old charts we should have this always in mind, though perhaps it would, from other reasons, not be worth our while to try to fix the amount of magnetic variation for every period of time, and to make out how it may have influenced and injured the observation of every old explorer and the correctness of his chart.

12. CAPES, HEADLANDS, PENINSULAS, INDENTATIONS.

The continental region bordering the coast of the Gulf of Maine presents, throughout, an elevated hilly and rocky country, built up by volcanic action, and presenting granite, syenite, and several other eruptive or metamorphic rocks, alternating with silurian strata, fossiliferous limestone, and argillaceous schists.

The rivers coming out from the interior, the waves and tides of the ocean, ice and snow, and other eroding agencies, have worked upon the softer substances, and have scooped out along the coast an innumerable quantity of friths, headlands, narrow peninsulas, high, sharp-projecting points, necks, islands, reaches, bays, and coves, with which the coast is lined and serrated.

These numberless indentations are quite a peculiar and characteristic feature of the coast of Maine. No other sec-

tion of the entire east coast of the United States has a similar character and configuration. Only beyond the limits of the Union, along the shores of the more northern British possessions, do we find coast-lines which offer the same singular aspect; and it is remarkable enough, that they are nearly all in the same position with respect to the ocean as that portion of the coast which we have in view.

The south-eastern coasts of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, and Newfoundland are all serrated, indentated, torn to pieces, and ragged like the coast of Maine; and they all, like this, face the broad ocean and are open to its action: whilst the northern and western shores of these same countries, which are turned to the interior of the Bay of Fundy and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, are much more rounded or straightened, without a great number of deep friths and headlands. It would appear from this, that the waves and tides of the ocean have been among the principal agencies by which those indentations were scooped out.

We find, however, very similarly indentated coasts throughout all the cold regions of the north, as well on the eastern as on the western side of America; and again in Greenland, Iceland, and also in northern Europe, in Scotland, Scandinavia, etc. Then, again, we find them in the cold regions of the South, in the Strait of Magellan, in Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, etc. It is, therefore, very probable, that ice and snow and the action of the glaciers had something to do with their formation.

It is impossible, and also unnecessary, to mention and describe here all the innumerable capes, spits, and necks of our coast. I will enumerate only those which, during the period of its early history, appear to have come into consideration and to have got a noted name.

1. *Cape Cod.* The peninsula of New England, at the south of our gulf, with a pointed angle, runs far out to the east, and projects much beyond the general line of the east coast. It ends with a narrow, low, sandy, more or less hilly piece of country, called Barnstable, or Cape Cod, peninsula. This peninsula turns with a still narrower spit of land like a hook to the north, and ends with a crooked headland, at present called Cape Cod.

The whole may be considered as forming the entrance-cape of the Gulf of Maine. By several islands to the south of it, particularly by Nantucket Island, and then by several dangerous banks and shoals, called the Nantucket Shoals, stretching out still further toward the east and into the ocean, the whole locality is made more prominent; and from the beginning of navigation it must have been a very striking and remarkable object for all the mariners sailing along the coast. On the entire east coast of the United States only one cape (Cape Hatteras) exists, which may be compared to Cape Cod with respect to conspicuousness and importance in the history of navigation.

Cape Cod could scarcely escape observation by any navigator coming along our shores from the north. Those coming from the south sometimes may have been turned off from the coast by the Gulf-stream without getting in sight of the cape. Cape Cod, therefore, usually has been descried *from the north*. The Northmen, the Spaniard Gomez, the French under De Monts, the English under Gosnold, were all, sailing from north to south, arrested by this cape.

The Northmen compared the crooked figure of the cape to the prow of a vessel, and called it "Cape Shipsnose" (Kialarnes). The Spaniards were frightened by the dangerous shoals at the south-east of it, and named it "Cabo de Arcifes" (Cape of the Riffs). The French and Dutch

were struck by the appearance of its sandy white bluffs, which shine far out into the sea, and named it sometimes the White Cape, or the White Hook (Cape Blanc, Witte Hoeck). An English captain at last, from the fish which he caught there, gave to it its present name, "Cape Cod."

In the course of our investigations, we shall have occasion often to refer to this cape, which occupies so prominent a figure in the navigation of the coast, and which, when we meet with it on the old charts, gives us useful hints concerning them, and enables us, sometimes, to trace the routes of the navigators.

2. *Cape Ann.* From Cape Cod along the shores of our gulf to the north, we find no other more prominent point than Cape Ann, the extreme point of the rocky peninsula of Essex county. It is high and conspicuous, and was probably often seen by early navigators. I believe that I have found some traces of it in the reports of the old Northmen on our coast, and I suppose that it was the same cape, which, at a later date, the Spaniards called "Cabo de Sta Maria" (St. Mary's Cape).

3. *Cape Elizabeth.* Cape Elizabeth, in its configuration, elevation, and appearance somewhat similar to Cape Ann, is, in several respects, one of the most remarkable points on our coast.

First, it stands out several miles beyond the general line of the coast to the sea, and is very conspicuous. Then it makes a change in the direction of the coast-line, which, as far as this cape, runs more northerly, and then, with an obtuse angle, it turns more to the east. At the same time, it marks a change in the condition and nature of the coast. To the south of Cape Elizabeth, among the rocky

necks and spits, are sometimes to be found low sandy beaches. But beyond Cape Elizabeth, to the north-east, these sandy beaches totally disappear, and everything is converted into innumerable cliffs, necks, tongues, and islands. From this it appears possible, that it was this cape which the Spaniards called "Cabo de muchas islas" (cape of the many islands), and which they so often depicted on their charts somewhat to the west of Penobscot Bay.* It is, however, also possible, that the neighboring cape, "Bald-head," surrounded on both sides by numerous islands, was meant by that old Spanish name.

The rest of the many capes and spits on the coast of Maine are so much alike, that none of them can be called strikingly prominent. None of them have been so often mentioned and so clearly designated by the old navigators, as to enable us to recognize and identify them. I omit, therefore, a particular description of them.

4. *Cape Sable.* The southern part of Nova Scotia forms a broad square-shaped peninsula. It runs out under a more or less right angle, the extreme point of which is called, from very old times, "Cape Sable." It forms the north-eastern entrance-cape of the Gulf of Maine, being distant from its south-eastern entrance-cape (Cape Cod) about 230 miles. The cape must have been noticed at a very early time by navigators sailing along the coast. On very old maps, made in the first half of the sixteenth century, we find sometimes depicted in these latitudes of our coast a square-shaped piece of country corresponding with that south-eastern end of Nova Scotia; and we therefore conclude that Cape Sable was, in such cases, meant. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth

*The numerous islands in Casco Bay, lying north-east of Cape Elizabeth, give peculiar appropriateness to the Spanish name.—ED.

century we have a Portuguese map, on which Cape Sable is unmistakably indicated under its present name, which probably was given to it by the old Portuguese or French fishermen from the Great Banks.

13. ISLANDS.

The islands along the coast of Maine are innumerable. All the bays and inlets are full of them. In one bay (that of Casco) have been counted as many as there are days in the year. The islands are of all sizes, some quite large, others small and diminutive. Many being elevated, rocky, covered with trees and meadows, serve much to diversify and embellish the aspect of the coast. They run in a nearly uninterrupted chain along the entire coast from Cape Elizabeth in the west, to Quoddy Head in the east. Some of them, having pretty high mountains, serve as landmarks to navigators. For instance, the hills of Mount Desert, which are elevated to more than fifteen hundred feet, can be seen at sea from a great distance. Some of the small islands stand somewhat out from the coast, lonely and lost in the midst of the ocean. The water between them is generally deep and favorable for navigation. There are not many hidden rocks and treacherous heads half covered by water.

These rocky islands and islets form a most characteristic feature of the coast of Maine. And every early visitor appears to have been struck by them. They are mentioned in the first description of the coast by the French captain Verrazano, in the year 1524. They are also depicted in the first descriptive chart of Maine which we possess, that of the Spaniard Ribero, made after the journals of the navigator Gomez.

No other section of the entire coast of the United States is found, which, in respect to islands, headlands, indenta-

tions, and particularly to the number of rocky islets, can be compared to the coast of Maine. On the south of Cape Cod, all the coasts of the United States, as far down as Florida, are low, sandy, uniform, and have, instead of islands, sandy long-stretched beaches, which, though they may be separated by water, are not easily recognized as islands.

If, therefore, we see on an old chart of the United States a chain of coast-islets depicted in about our latitude, we have a right to presume that the coast of Maine was intended. Without those islands, the historian would often have great difficulty in determining the locality.

14. HARBORS, BAYS, AND INLETS.

The coast of Maine all along is full of excellent harbors, safe ports of refuge, and beautiful bays. The harbor of Portland, in the south-western part of the State, is one of the best of the entire Atlantic coast. From thence toward the north-east there exists, in fact, every mile or two, a roadstead or open inlet for a ship to run into; whilst at the south of Cape Cod, along the greater part of the east coast of the United States, continuous sandy shores, like a rarely broken bulwark, stand against the shelter-seeking vessel; deep harbors being an exception. Probably, therefore, the old Northmen from Iceland and Greenland, when they came down to the south to cut wood and barter furs for their northern countries, did not dislike these coasts. And likewise the fishermen of the Great Banks, long before the settlement of the country, may have often resorted to them for shelter and refuge.

The most striking and widest open bays on the coast are Penobscot and Passamaquoddy; and they, in early times, may have been explored, entered, and used before the rest. We find them indicated on some very early maps, when no

other bay whatever is indicated on them. That very remarkable Casco Bay, with the harbor of Portland, may also sometimes be recognized on old charts.

15. RIVERS.

The territory of the State of Maine forms a rough and hilly plane inclined toward the ocean from north to south. Its principal rivers, therefore,—the St. Croix, the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Saco,—follow more or less this direction. None of them are very long, and being obstructed by many rapids and falls, even down to the neighborhood of the sea, are also not very far navigable. They, consequently, have not occasioned or facilitated discoveries into the interior, as the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Mississippi, etc., have done.

The greatest exception to this is the Penobscot, by far the most important river of the State. It drains the entire central part of Maine. All its heads and tributaries are included in the territory of the State, and this territory may be considered as having attached itself from all sides to this river system. The State of Maine might be called the Penobscot country, this river being its main artery.

The Penobscot, at its mouth, forms the largest and most beautiful of all the numerous bays or inlets of the coast, and is very deep and navigable for the largest vessels about sixty miles from the ocean upward to the city of Bangor, where tides and vessels are stopped by rocks and falls.

The widely open mouth attracted the attention of all the exploring navigators sailing along the coast, and it was visited by the Spaniards on their first exploring expedition to our regions. We see it depicted on the Spanish maps as the longest river of the whole region, and they gave to it names like the following: "Rio Grande" (the great river), or

"Rio hermoso" (the beautiful river). And the principal of the early Spanish explorer of these regions, Gomez, left his name to this river, which, perhaps, he considered to be one of his most important discoveries. It was sometimes called "Rio de Gomez" (the river of Gomez). It was afterwards often visited by French navigators and fishermen from the Great Bank, and they appear to have built there, before the year 1555, a fort or settlement, which must have been the first European settlement ever made on the coast of Maine.* The Indians of Maine, also, thought highly of this river. Their principal chief, according to the well-known Captain John Smith, an early English describer of the coast of Maine, resided on its shores; and even now, when everywhere else in Maine the Indians have disappeared, the few remnants of them, the little Penobscot tribe, cling to the borders of this their old beloved principal canoe-trail.

The Kennebec, in size and importance, is the second river of Maine. Its chief artery runs down from north to south like that of the Penobscot, and has a very similar development and course. It is navigable for sea-going vessels about fifty miles upward. But its mouth is hidden among many inlets and necks of land very similar to each other, and not as easily recognized as the widely open mouth of the Penobscot. The Kennebec, in its lower section (called "Sagadahoc"), was not found, therefore, till a later time, and came not much into notice during the sixteenth century.

The same may be said of the Saco, and the Piscataquis, a wide and deep river, which at present forms the boundary between the States of Maine and New Hampshire.

The St. Croix River, in the greater part of its course, separates the State of Maine from the province of New

* See upon this chapter XI, paragraph 1, of this volume.

Brunswick. It ends with a widely open mouth, the Passamaquoddy Bay, already mentioned.

As nearly all these rivers, particularly the Penobscot and the St. Croix at their broad mouths, look so grand and promising, they were thought, by early discoverers, to have been much larger than they really are, and as they had their heads in the vicinity of the river St. Lawrence, they sometimes were taken as branches or outlets of this river, and have been depicted as such on old maps. Nay, some old discoverers and geographers had the idea that they were oceanic passages or channels from the Atlantic to the western sea, which they suspected to be very near to the west of Maine, as we shall have occasion to show more particularly hereafter.

This short review of the physical features of the coast of Maine contains, I believe, all that is wanted for the understanding of the earliest history of its discovery. In a volume on the history of subsequent times, the subject should be taken up again more in detail.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN NORTH-EASTERN AMERICA DURING THE MIDDLE AGE.*

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE great continents of our globe run out toward the South Pole in two pointed peninsulas, separated from each other by broad deserts of water ; whilst on toward the North Pole the dry land becomes broader, and the ocean is cut up into several more or less contracted straits, gulfs, and arms of the ocean.

The human race, spreading itself over the habitable surface of the globe, had, therefore, much more facility in discovering and taking possession of one piece of country after another in the north, than in the south. Between the north-east of Asia and the north-west of America remains but a narrow channel, "Behring Strait;" and here some have supposed the first discovery of the American continent by an Asiatic race must have taken place, and that America here received, by an immigration from the East, her first inhabitants.

Between the north-east of America and the north-west of Europe the waters are much broader. But here several

* Nearly all of what I state and relate in this chapter is taken—sometimes literally—from the excellent work, "*Antiquitates Americanae, Hafniæ*, (Copenhagen), 1837," written and collected by C. C. Rafn, except some general remarks, and the observations on the old history of the coast of Maine, which are my own.

peninsulas and islands are found, forming a chain of stations for the communication of the old and new world.

From the West Indies, the line of the American east coast runs in a north-eastern direction; and from the high north, the coast of arctic America and Labrador come down in a south-eastern course, forming a great peninsula, of which Newfoundland is the most eastern point, stretching far out toward Europe.

Not very far from this north-eastern American peninsula, the southern part of the great island of Greenland presents itself; and, further on, Iceland, the Farøe, and the Shetland group, all separated from each other by sections of the ocean, which, under favorable circumstances, even by small craft, may easily be passed in a few days' sailing.

Scandinavia and Great Britain, also, stretch from the body of Europe, like colossal arms projecting into the ocean toward the north-west, approaching the above-mentioned parts of America and the islands between.

The territory of the State of Maine, the particular object of our researches, forms a part of that large north-eastern peninsula of America. It stands exactly where the American east coast very decidedly takes a turn toward Europe; and it may, therefore, have been affected, in a high degree, by all the migrations, voyages, discoveries, and conquests which, from the remotest times to our century of telegraphs and cables, have been the connecting links of commerce, navigation, and intercourse between the East and the West.

Perhaps long before any annals were written, some people may have passed over from Europe along the stations of this great high road to America, and from America to Europe. The similarity in manners and race existing among the aborigines of the north of Europe (the Laplanders, Samoyedes, etc.) and those of the north of America (the Esquimaux) is

not, perhaps, alone a consequence of climate and natural circumstances experienced by both races. The mounds and fortifications discovered in America, and the old instruments used by the nations, which, before our Indians of the present day, had taken possession of the country, are so similar to the objects of this kind found in Northern Europe, that this similarity can scarcely be otherwise explained than by a direct intercourse between the races.

The Roman historians reported, at least in one case, of some strange people having come over from the West in a boat, and having appeared on some coast of Northern Europe. From what nation and country these strangers came, nobody knew; perhaps they were fishermen driven by storm from the Shetlands or Farøe, or from distant "Thule," perhaps even Esquimaux from Greenland or Labrador. Several cases of the arrival of boats with strange people from the west, in Scotland and other parts of Northern Europe have been mentioned.* During the innumerable centuries of the existence of the human race, such events may have happened many times. In the same manner, vessels from Europe may have been driven by storms to the west;† and so population may have become dispersed from island to island, and from one continent to the other.

The inhabitants of the western and northern parts of the British islands appear to be the first Europeans who have—at least by tradition—sustained a claim to the discovery of American countries in the West. It is said that Madoc, a prince of Wales, in the year 1170, had found islands in the

* See upon this, Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 470-476. Berlin, 1852.

† An example of a European (French) fisher-boat, said to have been driven in early times (in the year 1501) from Europe to Canada, is quoted by Humboldt, l. c. p. 472.

far western parts of the ocean.* And then we have an old tradition of Irishmen having gone to the west and found there a beautiful country in which they settled, lived for a long time, and left their progeny. But this myth is put into a more southern region of America,—Florida and South Carolina; the examination of its probability belongs to the mythological history of those States.†

The fact, also, that we find the Irish before any European nation in Iceland, is more interesting for our subject. Irish Christians are the first Europeans which well-ascertained history shows us, were immigrants and inhabitants of this large island; and if we consider, as some do, Iceland as being American ground, we ought to say that the Irish were the first well-proved discoverers of some part of America. At what time the Irish arrived in Iceland has not been ascertained. When the Northmen arrived there in the year 860, they found some of these Irish there, designated in the Scandinavian Chronicles by the name of “Papás.”

2. DISCOVERY OF ICELAND AND GREENLAND.

The Northmen, in the eighth and ninth centuries, had commenced a strong emigration from their own country; they took possession of the Shetlands, the Farøe, and the islands of the northern part of Great Britain; and had become the most powerful sea-faring nation on the ocean border of the north-west of Europe. They made conquests and gathered plunder in every direction.

But, for us, the most interesting branch of their activity was that which conducted them to the north-east of America.

* See upon this, William Owen, *The Cambrian Biography*, p. 233. London, 1803.

† See on this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanae*, p. 449. Hafniæ (Copenhagen), 1837.

In this direction they found countries which were either uninhabited, or inhabited by barbarous tribes. The Northmen here could not destroy so much as in civilized Europe, which they ravaged and plundered. But they created new settlements, and introduced European spirit and enterprise.

Naddod, a Scandinavian, called the Sea-king, in the year 860, and Gardar, a Dane, soon after, are said to have been the first Northmen who, driven by storms, came in sight of Iceland, and reconnoitered it. The good news which they brought home from it induced others to follow their track, and the Northman, Ingolf, in the year 874, was the first who settled there. He and his men found there the Christian Irishmen, the "Papas" or "Papar," whom they dispossessed and drove out, until none were left before the overwhelming invasion of these new-comers.

The settlements of the Scandinavians in Iceland, and their expeditions to that country in the following years, increased in number; and, in the year 877, another north-east storm drove one of those Icelandic settlers, called Gunnbjörn, still further to the north-west, to Greenland, another unknown country, which he appears to have seen only at a distance. It was a long time before any other adventurer followed in his track. The Northmen had enough to do with their settlements in Iceland, and the "country of Gunnbjörn" (Greenland), existed for nearly a century only in tradition. A rock between Iceland and Greenland has ever since retained his name, being called "Gunnbjörn's Skjar" (Gunnbjörn's rock).

At last, in the spring of the year 986, Eric the Red sailed from Iceland with the intention of seeking for Gunnbjörn's country. Having found it, he established a settlement, "Brattalid," in a bay which, after him, was called "Eric's Fiord." He found the country pleasant, full of

meadows, and of a milder climate than the more northern Iceland. He gave to it the name "Greenland," saying that this would be an inviting name, which might attract other people from Iceland to join his colony. Another adventurer, named Heriulf, soon followed him, and established himself near a southern promontory of Greenland, which after him was called "Heriulfsnäs," situated not far from our present "Cape Farewell."

3. FIRST DISCOVERY OF NEW ENGLAND.

The above-mentioned Heriulf had a son, Biarne, who, at the time his father went over from Iceland to Greenland, had been absent on a trading voyage in Norway. Returning to Iceland in 990, and finding that his father, with Eric the Red, had gone to the west, he resolved to follow him and to spend the next winter with him in Greenland.

They boldly set sail to the south-west, but having encountered northerly storms, after many days' sail they lost their course, and when the weather cleared, they descried land, not, however, like that described to them as "Greenland." They saw that it was a much more southern land, and covered with forests. It not being the intention of Biarne to explore new countries, but only to find the residence of his father in Greenland, he improved a south-west wind, and turned to the north-east, and put himself on the track for Greenland. After several days' sailing, during which he discovered and sailed by other well-wooded lands lying on his left, some high and mountainous, and bordered by icebergs, he reached Heriulfsnäs, the residence of his father, in Greenland. His return passage occupied nine days, and he speaks of three distinct tracts of land, along which he coasted, one of which he supposed to have been a large island.

That Biarne, on this voyage, must have seen some part of

the American east coast, is clear from his having been driven that way from Iceland by northerly gales. We cannot determine with any certainty what part of our coast he sighted, and what was the southern extent of his cruise. But, taking into consideration all circumstances and statements of the report, it appears probable that it was part of the coast of New England, and perhaps Cape Cod, which stands far out to the east. One day and night's sailing with a favorable wind, was, in Iceland and Norway, reckoned to be about the distance of thirty German miles. Two days and "nights," therefore, would be sixty German miles, and this is about the distance from Cape Cod in New England to Cape Sable in Nova Scotia.*

The second country seen by Biarne would, then, probably have been Nova Scotia. The distance from Nova Scotia to Newfoundland is about three days' sail; and from Newfoundland to the southern part of Greenland, a Northman navigator, with fresh breezes, might easily sail in four days, and thus Newfoundland was probably the third country discovered by Biarne.

The results of the expedition of Biarne may be stated to have been these: He was the first European who saw, although from a distance and very cursorily, some parts of the coasts of New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. He also probably crossed the Gulf of Maine, without stopping, however, to explore its waters, or giving them names.

4. VOYAGES OF LEIF, ERIK'S SON, AND FIRST SETTLEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND.

Biarne, of course, spoke to his father and to the Greenland colonists of all that had happened to him, and of the

* The German mile a little exceeds four English miles.—ED.

large tracts of country he by chance had seen. Afterwards (probably in the year 994) when he returned to Norway, and spoke there also of his adventures, he was blamed by many for not having examined the new found countries more accurately.

In Greenland, too, whither he soon returned, there was also much talk about undertaking a voyage of discovery to the south-west. Leif, the son of Erik the Red, the first settler in Greenland, having bought Biarne's ship in the year 1000, equipped her with a crew of thirty-five men, among whom was Biarne himself, they went out on Biarne's track toward the south-west. They came first to that land which Biarne had seen last, which, as I have said, was probably our Newfoundland. Here they cast anchor and went on shore, for their voyage was not the search of a son after his father, but a decided exploring expedition.

They found the country as Biarne had described it, full of ice-mountains, desolate, and its shores covered with large flat stones. Leif, therefore, called it "Helluland" (the stony land).

After a brief delay they pursued their voyage, and found Biarne's second land, as he had described it, covered with woods, with a low coast and shores of white sand. Leif named it "Markland" (the woodland), our present Nova Scotia.

Continuing their course, in two days they again made land. They found here a promontory projecting in a northeasterly direction from the main; this pretty well corresponds to our present Cape Cod. It was the second time that a European vessel had sailed across the broad entrance of the Gulf of Maine, although at a great distance from the coast.

Leif, rounding this cape to the west, sailed some distance westward, entered a bay or harbor, and went on shore.

Finding the country very pleasant, they, concluding to spend the winter there, constructed some houses, and formed a settlement, which was called "Leifsbudir" (Leif's block-house, or dwelling). It is, with a great degree of probability, supposed that this took place on the south coast of the present State of Rhode Island, somewhere in Narraganset Bay, perhaps not far from our present Newport.

Leif and his men from this point made several exploring expeditions to the interior, to gain a better knowledge of the country. On one of those occasions a discovery was made, which appeared to them so extraordinary, that the name of this country was derived from it. Leif had amongst his followers a good-natured German, with the name of Tyrker, who had long resided with Leif's father in Iceland and Greenland, and of whom he had been very fond from his childhood. This German, on one of their exploring expeditions, lost his way and was missing. Leif, with some of his men, went out in search of him. But they had not gone far, when they saw him stepping out from a wood, holding something in his hands, and coming toward them. Leif received him with great joy, but observed that his German was somewhat irritated and unsettled in mind.* Upon being questioned, Tyrker, in a kind of enthusiastic way, began to say something in the German language, which the Northmen did not understand.† At last he said to them in true Norse, that he had not been a long way off, but still he had discovered something quite new. "I found vines and grapes!" he cried out; showing them what he held in his hands. "But is that true, my friend?" asked Leif, who, probably, as an Iceland and Greenlander never had seen fresh grapes. And then Tyrker said, that he well might know that they

* "Han var ikke ret ved sin samling." Icelandic Report.

† "Han dreieda ainene til forskellige sides og vrængede munden."

were real grapes, having been born and educated in a country in which there were plenty of vines. The Northmen collected many grapes, filling with them their long-boat. This discovery was so extraordinary, that Leif gave to his new southern country the name of "Vinland" (the country of vines). This name was adopted by all his countrymen, and they afterward extended it to the whole coast stretching out to the north as far as what they called "Markland" (Nova Scotia).

During the winter Leif and his men observed that the climate of their Vinland was quite mild. They made also the observation, that the length of the days and nights in Vinland was much more equal than in Greenland throughout the year. On the shortest day in Vinland the sun was above the horizon from $7\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ P. M. This astronomical observation confirms the generally adopted view, that their settlement was made in the latitude of the southern part of New England. For the rest, they were occupied in felling trees and filling their vessel with wood, a product which, in Greenland and Iceland, was very welcome; and in the spring they returned to Greenland.

5. VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THORWALD, ERIK'S SON, IN NEW ENGLAND.

Leif's "Vinland voyage" became, among the colonists of Greenland, a subject of as much conversation and excitement, as in later times the discovery of Columbus at the courts of Spain and England.

Leif's brother, Thorwald, was of opinion, that the new country had not been explored sufficiently. He, therefore, borrowed Leif's ship, and, aided by his brother's advice and direction, and by some of his men, commenced another voyage to this country in the year 1002.

He probably sailed on the track of Biarne and Leif, along Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and arrived in Vinland at "Leifsbudir" (in Narraganset Bay), where he and his men spent the winter, employing themselves in fishing and cutting wood. In the spring of 1003, Thorwald sent a party in the ship's long-boat, on a voyage of discovery, the results of which were not very great, and have for us not much interest, because the expedition went, probably, pretty far to the south, and did not return until the fall of the year.

Thorwald himself, however, undertook, in the following year, 1004, another voyage, which has a higher interest for us, because it was directed to the north, and to the vicinity of Maine.

Thorwald, according to his report, sailed from Leifsbudir (in Narraganset Bay), in his large ship, at first eastward and then to the north, "around the country." In doing this the keel of his ship was damaged in a storm, and he landed on a promontory, where he remained some time in repairing his vessel. After this, "he sailed round this spit of land, from the east to the west, into the nearest frith of the coast." The description of this sail agrees very well with the configuration of Cape Cod and vicinity, which had been seen, but not named, on the former voyages of Biarne and Leif. Thorwald, this time, noticed the headland more minutely, and gave to it the name "Kialarnes" (Ship-nose). The outlines of Cape Cod make a figure which is much like the prow of a vessel, particularly of a Northman vessel. They had ships with a very high and pointed nose, like the head and neck of a dragon, and were therefore called "dragons." This circumstance may have influenced Thorwald to give this name to the cape, though it is said that the first occasion for the name was derived from his repairing his vessel there. At all events, the name "Kialarnes," so often mentioned in

the Scandinavian reports, kept its ground, because it was found so appropriate. The Scandinavian reports sometimes mention this cape under the simple name "Naeset," the *nose*, probably because it was the principal and most projecting headland of their "Vinland." This remarkable headland, on account of the snowy whiteness of its sands, always attracts the attention of the passer-by.* As a prominent and important landmark it shows to the navigator his way on the dark ocean; and so, in our researches through the dark ways of history, it will serve us as a guide when we find its unique figure put down on a chart by some explorer. Cape Cod may be called the very handle by which to grasp the hydrographical features of New England.

Thorwald sailed from his "Ship-nose" toward the mainland, where he came to anchor not far from a hilly promontory overgrown with wood, and was so much pleased with the place that he exclaimed, "Here it is beautiful, and here I should like to fix my abode." He met there nine men of the aborigines; "eight of them they killed, but the ninth escaped in his canoe." Some time after, there arrived a countless number of "Skrellings"—as the Scandinavians called the aborigines, as well of Greenland as of Vinland,—and a battle ensued. It was the first battle and bloodshed between Europeans and the indigenous Americans, of which we have any account. The "Skrellings" continued shooting at Thorwald and his men some time, and then quickly retired. After the victory, Thorwald asked his men, whether one of them had been wounded. Upon their denying this, he said, "I am! I have an arrow under my arm, and this will be my death-blow. I now advise you to prepare for your departure as soon as possible. But me you must take to that promontory where I thought to have made

* See upon this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, pp. 426, 427.

my abode. I was a prophet. For I now shall dwell there forever. There you shall bury me, and plant there two crosses, one at my head and one at my feet, and call the place 'Krossanæs' (the promontory of the crosses), for all time coming." Thorwald, upon this, died, and his men did as he had ordered them.

The place where they buried him and erected the crosses, must have been one of the headlands not far south of the coast of Maine. It is supposed that it was near the harbor of Boston, and that this first battle between Europeans and American aborigines was fought on the same ground where, in modern time, were fought the first battles of the American colonists with the British troops. The cape, "Krossanæs," having a somewhat hidden position, is not often mentioned in the Scandinavian reports.

Thorwald's men returned to their companions at the settlement of Leifsbudir (Narraganset Bay), and spent with them the following winter. But in the spring of 1005, having collected a cargo of wood, furs, and grapes (probably in a dried state), they sailed again to Greenland, having important and sad intelligence to communicate to Leif, Erik's son.

The results of Thorwald's exploring expedition, for our object, may be summed up in a few words. Thorwald and his men staid on the coasts of New England nearly two entire years, principally occupied with explorations. They sailed along the south coast of New England toward, and perhaps beyond, New York. They recognized and described more minutely the important headland of Cape Cod, and gave to it the appropriate and often mentioned name, "Kialarnes" (Ship-nose). They intended to make an expedition along the coast of New England toward the north, visiting the

shores of Maine, but did not come in this direction much further than the harbor of Boston, where their commander, Thorwald, was killed.

6. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF THORSTEIN, ERIK'S SON, TO REACH "VINLAND" AGAIN.

Thorstein, Erik's third son, now resolved to proceed to Vinland to obtain his brother's body. He fitted out the same ship in which his brother had sailed, and selected twenty-five strong and able men for its crew. His wife, Gudrida, a woman of energy and prudence, accompanied him. But they encountered contrary winds, and were tossed about on the ocean during the whole summer, and knew not whither they were driven. At the close of the first week of winter, they landed at one of the western settlements of Greenland, where a sickness broke out amongst them, of which Thorstein and many others died. In the following spring, his widow, Gudrida, returned to Ericksfiord, on the southern coast of Greenland.

7. THE VOYAGE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE TO "VINLAND," AND A NEW SETTLEMENT THERE EFFECTED BY HIM.

In the following summer of the year 1006, two ships arrived in Greenland from Iceland,—one commanded by Thorfinn and Snorre Thorbrandsen, the other by Biarne, Grimolf's son, and Thorhall.

Thorfinn was a wealthy and powerful man, of illustrious lineage. He had the surname Karlsefne (*i.e.* one who is destined to be a great man). He fell in love with Gudrida, Thorstein's widow, and their marriage was celebrated during the winter. On this, as on former occasions, Vinland formed a favorite theme of conversation. Gudrida probably spoke to her new husband about the project of her former husband,

Thorstein, of a voyage to the south. Thorfinn, urged by his wife and by others, resolved to undertake such a voyage.

In the summer of 1007, Thorfinn prepared three ships,—one commanded by himself, another by Biarne, Grimolf's son, and Thorhall; the third by Thorwald, who had married Freydisa, a natural daughter of Erik the Red. They had in all one hundred and sixty men, and, it being their intention to establish a colony there, took with them all kinds of live-stock.

They sailed from Greenland in the spring of 1008, on a southerly course to Helluland, and from thence two days further in a southerly direction to Markland.

From "Markland" (Nova Scotia) they did not go out to the open sea through the broad part of the Gulf of Maine, as had been done on the former expeditions; but they coasted along a great way "to the south-west, having the land always on their starboard," until they at length came to Kialarnes (Cape Cod).*

Thorfinn and Gudrida, in following this track, probably wished to find the place where Thorwald had been buried, and his crosses erected, which they of course knew were to be found on the coast toward the north of Cape Cod. They, no doubt, had some of Thorwald's former companions on board.

It appears from this, that we have here the first coasting voyage of European navigators along the shores of Maine. It was a numerous company of one hundred and sixty men in three vessels, who, in that year, had their eyes upon our coast in search of the cross of Thorwald, all of them strong, stout, and heroic fellows. Unhappily, their reports contain no further details of the coast.

* Fra Markland seilede de længe sønderpaa langs med Landet, og kom til at Næset. Landet laae paa skibets hoire side.

They came at last to Cape Cod, and were struck at this time by "long sandy beaches and downs," and named the strand "Furdustrandr," which may be translated "beaches of wonderful length,"—our present "Nauset" and "Chatham Beach."

In rounding the beaches toward the west, they saw several inlets, islands, and tongues of land, and met at several places strong currents. On one of the islands an immense number of eider-ducks was found, so that it was scarcely possible to walk there without treading on their eggs. They called this island "Straumey" (the island of currents), and to a frith they gave the name of "Straumfiordr" (the frith of the currents). It is well known that the Gulf-stream in this region comes very near to the Nantucket Shoals, and causes amongst them and the neighboring islands very irregular currents.

They landed in the "frith of the currents," supposed to be our Buzzard's Bay, and made preparations for a winter residence. But Thorhall the Hunter, a man whom Thorfinn had carried out with him, left there for the north on discovery, and then Thorfinn himself, with the great body of his men, sailed westward, and entered the same large and beautiful bay, on the borders of which Leif had built his "Leifsbudir." Not far from this spot, on the other side of the water, at a place which pleased him better, Thorfinn now erected his own larger establishment, named "Thorfinn's budir." It stood near a small recess or bay, by the Scandinavians called "Hop" (corner). On the low grounds around this "Hop," they found fields of wheat growing wild, and on the rising grounds plenty of vines.

There, in a beautiful country, they spent the following winter. No snow fell, and the cattle found their food in the open fields, as it may be to-day, in the exceptionally mild climate of Rhode Island. Sometimes the aborigines (Skel-

lings) would assemble around them in great number. Thorfinn and his men bartered with them for their squirrel-skins and other furs. The Skrellings liked very much the red cloth offered by the foreigners, and gave valuable furs for a small piece of red cloth not broader than a finger's breadth, binding it round their heads like a crown. Thorfinn, also, caused his women to bring out milk-soup, the taste of which the Skrellings greatly relished. They greedily purchased, ate it, and in this manner "carried away their bargains in their bellies," says the old Icelandic chronicler. In fact, this whole traffic of the Northmen with their "Skrellings" was carried on in much the same manner in which the later Europeans used to barter with the poor Indians; with this difference only, that in modern times they gave them brandy instead of milk.

Thorfinn prohibited his men from selling their swords and spears to the Skrellings, a prohibition which was afterwards often repeated by European commanders.

One day, whilst traffic was going on in the like manner, a bull, which Thorfinn had brought with him, rushed out from the woods and bellowed loudly. At this the Skrellings were extremely terrified, and quickly disappeared in the same manner in which, at a later date, the Peruvian Indians, at the court of Atabalipa, were frightened by the neighing of Spanish horses.

But it is not my intention to specify all that happened to Thorfinn and his men in their southern abode, because the details of these events appear to belong to the antiquities of the State of Rhode Island. I have only made an exception with respect to the matters just stated, as they are characteristic of American history in general, and as they serve to confirm the truthfulness of our Scandinavian reports, and foreshadow, as it were, in a clear mirror, many American customs and occurrences afterwards often repeated.

I will only add this, that Gudrida, the heroic wife of Thorfinn, gave birth, on the shores of Narraganset Bay, to a son, who received the name of "Snorre," and who may be considered as the first American-born child of European parents.

We will now turn our attention again to the north, and see what was done by Thorfinn for the exploration of the northern parts of Vinland.

Thorfinn had sent to the north from Straumfiordr (Buzard's Bay) his man, Thorhall the Hunter. "This Thorhall was a strong and stout person, black, very taciturn, and was familiar with the desert places of Greenland and the whole north." Being fond of exploring unknown parts, he, with eight men, had left Thorfinn's party soon after their arrival at the south coast of New England, because he wished to explore the northern parts of Vinland. He sailed along "Furdustrandr" (Nauset) and "Kialarnes" (Cape Cod), and turned to the west into the interior parts of the Gulf of Maine. But there he was caught by a strong west wind, probably one of the wild north-west storms, which, coming down from the mountains of New Hampshire and Maine, sometimes happen in this bay, and still are much dreaded by the coasters. By this storm Thorhall was driven out into the broad ocean, and by other westerly gales was carried so far away, that at last he knew no better refuge than Ireland,* where he landed, and where, according to the account of some merchants, he and his men were made slaves.

Thus Thorhall's attempt to explore the northern parts of Vinland (coast of Maine) in 1008, was as perfect a failure

* I may add the remark, that, in a similar manner, at the end of the sixteenth century, the well-known French discoverer, La Roche, was caught by a western gale on the shore of Nova Scotia, which drove him off the coast, and chased him back toward France.

as the voyage of Thorwald to the same region some years before.

Meanwhile Thorfinn's circumstances had changed. His establishment at "Hop" (Narraganset Bay) had been attacked by numberless hostile Skrellings. Blood had been shed again, and the fights had not been victories for the Scandinavians. Thorfinn thought that, though the country offered many advantages, still the life they would have to lead here might be one of constant alarm. He made preparations, therefore, to return to Greenland. But before doing this, he wanted to see his man, Thorhall the Hunter, who had not returned from his excursion to the northern parts of Vinland. He, therefore, in one of his ships, left "Hop," sailed eastward, leaving the greater body of his companions at his station on the coasts of "Straumfiordr" (Buzzard's Bay), and made a searching expedition to the north on the track and in quest of Thorhall. He sailed to the north along "Kialarnes" (Cape Cod), and then to the west, "having the country on his left side." "He found there endless forests so far as he could see, with scarcely any open place." He discovered, also, a river, in the mouth of which he, for some time, rode at anchor.

Here, at this anchoring place, it happened that they one day saw a "Onefoot,"* who, being hidden behind some trees, killed with an arrow one of Thorfinn's men, and then ran off to the north. After this unhappy event, Thorfinn continued his voyage to the north. But finding no trace of his friend Thorhall, and thinking that they now had come to the country of the "Onefoots,"† he did not like to expose his men to further dangers, and returned to the south. "He and his men, however, agreed on this point, that all these

* "En Eenfoding" (Unipes").

† "Eenfodingseland" ("terra Unipedum").

tracts to the north were continuous with those in the south at Hop, and that it was all one and the same country."

The "endless forests" which Thorfinn saw in the north, the river-mouth where he anchored, and where he saw the "Onefoot," might have been somewhere in the inner parts of the Gulf of Maine, on the coasts of the present States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, or Maine. How far, on this excursion, he went to the north, we cannot say. But, as he believed that he had now come to the dangerous "country of the Onefoots," we may put down this as one of the names under which our coasts of New Hampshire and Maine may have been designated by the Northmen.

The reports of the Northmen of their voyages are not near so full of fabulous and mythological phantasms and errors, marvellous and superhuman events and beings, as those of the Spaniards and other more southern nations. They are, on the contrary, remarkable for their straight-forward, unostentatious simplicity and matter of fact clearness. But there are a few exceptions. Sometimes they report, that the "Skrellings," in the midst of a battle or on their flight, suddenly disappeared, "being swallowed by the earth," and similar incredible things. The "country of the Onefoots" may also be called one of these exceptions. The Northmen believed in the existence of such a nation and country, as the Spaniards believed in the existence of the Amazons. They believed they had discovered the country of the Onefoots at several times,* and so Thorfinn thought he had found it here in the north of Vinland (New Hampshire and Maine).

Thorfinn, not having found his man Thorhall, returned to his companions whom he had left on the coast of Straumfiordr (Buzzard's Bay). He there staid with them till the next

* See Rafn, l. c. p. 158.

winter. It was his third winter in Vinland, but not a favorable one to the continuation of the enterprise. Discontent and dissension broke out among the settlers, the causes of which I may leave here undiscussed. Thorfinn, therefore, in the following spring, 1011, with his wife, Gudrida, and his American son, Snorre, then three years of age, left the country together, and with a good southerly wind returned to Greenland. It is not quite clear, but it appears to me probable, that a party of his men remained behind and continued the settlement in Vinland. The reports are somewhat contradictory on this point. Thorfinn, also, carried with him two boys, aborigines of Markland, to whom the Northmen afterward taught the Norse language, and who then gave them some particulars about the interior of their country, and about the manners and kind of living of their countrymen. The old Northmen, in this respect, followed the practice, which, in later times, was adopted by many discoverers.

Thorfinn never returned again to Vinland. He had brought from thence many valuable things collected in the country, and during his traffic with the aborigines,—furs and skins of different animals, specimens of rare wood of several sorts, and probably other products not specified in the reports.

When he arrived with this cargo in Greenland (at the end of the year 1011), two brothers of the name of Helge and Finnboge had come out from Norway. They were probably attracted by the rich plunder of Thorfinn, and, persuaded by some of his companions, resolved to make a voyage to Vinland, which now began to be named "Vinland the good" (Vinland det goda). They associated for this purpose with that enterprising woman, Freydisa, who had been out with Thorfinn, and who knew and liked "the good Vinland."

They made with her a bargain, that they would share with her equally in all the profits this voyage might yield. They sailed in the year 1012 to Vinland. The particulars of their voyage have no great interest for us, because it does not appear that they touched, in any way, the northern parts of Vinland. Freydisa and her companions got into trouble and disagreement, probably about the "profits of the undertaking." They came to arms, and the two brothers, Helge and Finnboge, were slain in a fight. Freydisa and her companions soon after returned to Greenland, very probably with a good booty of furs, etc. They arrived in Greenland in the spring of 1013, where Thorfinn then lay, ready to sail with his cargo for Norway. (All commercial operations appear to have been very slow in old Greenland.) It is very probable, though it is not exactly stated, that Freydisa sold a part of her stock to Thorfinn, to take to the European market. At all events, "Thorfinn's ship was so richly laden, that it was generally admitted a more valuable cargo never before left Greenland."

Thorfinn sailed to Norway, staid there the next winter, and sold his American products.* He appears to have made by them a good profit. Amongst others, a "Southern man," a German merchant of the city of Bremen, in Saxonia, who happened to be present in Norway, offered to Thorfinn, for a piece of American wood, half a mark of gold. Thorfinn was astonished at this high price being offered to him by that "Southerner," but gave his wood for it. "He did not know that it was 'Mösur' he had brought out from Vinland."† This "Mösur," or "Mausur" was a kind of wood then considered to be so precious, that

* Rafn, l. c. p. 73.

† Rafn, l. c. p. 74.

kings sometimes had goblets made of it, trimmed with silver and gold.*

Thorfinn, probably with a full purse, sailed as before, accompanied by his wife Gudrida and his son Snorre, in the spring of 1014, from Norway to Iceland, where he bought an estate, and where he now settled and resided for the remainder of his life, with Snorre, his son. After the death of Thorfinn, and after Snorre had been married, Gudrida, the widow-mother, made a pious pilgrimage to Rome, where, probably, as an extraordinary person, she was received with distinction, and where, of course, she spoke to the pope or his bishops about the beautiful new country in the far West, "Vinland the good," and about the Christian settlements made there by the Scandinavians. She afterwards returned to her son's estate in Iceland, where Snorre had built a church, and where, after all her adventures, she lived long as a religious recluse.

From Thorfinn and his son, Snorre, a numerous and illustrious race descended, among whom may be mentioned the learned bishop Thorlak Runolfson, born in the year 1085, of whom it has been made probable, that he was the person who originally compiled the accounts of the voyages of his great grandfather.

The results which these early exploring, searching, and trading voyages of Thorfinn and Gudrida have for our subject, may, in short, be summed up thus:

The coast of Maine, in the year 1008, was, for the first time, coasted along by European ships from north to south.

Thorhall the Hunter, in the year 1008, made his exploring

*The American "Mösur" is said to have come from a kind of maple tree, called in New England the "birdseye, or curled maple." See upon this, Rafn, l. c. p. 442 seq.

expedition from Straumfiordr (Buzzard's Bay) to the northern parts of Vinland (coast of Maine), but was beaten back by a heavy north-western gale.

Thorfinn, in the year 1009, made a searching expedition in quest of his man Thorhall, to the northern parts of Vinland, but appears not to have gone far north, for fear of the Skrel-lings, whom he thought to be monstrous "Onefoots." He gave their name to the country, which probably included New Hampshire and part of Maine, and which he believed to be continuous with the south of Vinland.

Thorfinn, during his stay of more than three years in Vinland, had collected furs, skins, precious woods, and other American products. He brought them over to Europe (Norway), and sold them at a good price. Thus were New England and its products made known in Europe.

These discoveries were also undoubtedly made known by mariners from Germany, Ireland, and Scotland, and by other adventurers, on their return to their native countries. The Northmen themselves would not be slow in spreading the fame of their bold expeditions and the wonderful discoveries they had made.

That in Denmark and the northern part of Germany, very soon after the expeditions of Thorfinn, the "Vinland" of the Northmen became known, is proved by the testimony of a famous contemporary historian of the North. The bishopric of Bremen, founded by Charles the Great, comprised within its ecclesiastical jurisdiction and diocese, for a long time, the whole north of Europe,—Denmark, Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland. The town where this bishop resided (Bremen), therefore, was sometimes called the Rome of the North; and the earliest historian of this bishopric, Adam of Bremen, in his celebrated and important work, "Ecclesiastical history of the north of Europe," paid great

attention to the political, military, and commercial events of the Northmen. He wrote this work about fifty years after Thorfinn's return from Vinland, and, having himself traveled a good deal in Denmark, he added to it "a description of Denmark and of the regions beyond Denmark," and in chapter thirty-nine of this description, he says that Sueno, the King of Denmark, to whom he paid a visit, and with whom he had a conversation on the northern countries, mentioned to him, among many other islands which had been discovered in the north-west, "one which they had called Vinland, because the vine would grow there without cultivation, and because it produced the best sort of wine. That besides, plenty of fruits grow in this country without planting, is not mere opinion, but I have this news from very authentic and trustworthy relations of the Danes. Beyond this island, however, no habitable country is found; on the contrary, everything to the north is covered with ice and eternal night."

Adam of Bremen's work was written soon after the middle of the eleventh century, issued in the year 1073, dispersed in several copies, and probably read by many learned persons. So we may say, that, even at this time, a discovery of America was proclaimed, and a short description of New England given to the reading public of Europe.

Besides this Adam of Bremen, there was another contemporary historian, Ordericus Vitalis, born in England, and afterwards bishop of Rouen in Normandy, who appears to have known something of Vinland, and to have mentioned it in his ecclesiastical history, which was written about one hundred years after Thorfinn's exploring expeditions.*

* See about this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 337.

8. EXPEDITIONS FROM GREENLAND AND ICELAND TO VINLAND
SUBSEQUENT TO THOSE OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE.

After Thorfinn Karlsefne's expeditions, the Northmen from Iceland and Greenland appear to have gone several times to the shores of America. Some of them were driven by storms to more southern parts of the continent. Others made exploring expeditions toward the arctic regions, to the northern parts of Baffin's Bay. The history of these voyages, undertaken to regions very distant from our territory of Maine, has no immediate interest for us.

But the Vinland expeditions did not cease, though we have only scanty information and a few scattered reports on all that happened in Vinland after Thorfinn Karlsefne. The first discovery of this beautiful country, praised so much for its mild climate and fertility, and usually by the Icelandic historians called the *good* country, must, at the beginning, have struck the Northmen with great surprise: their historians, consequently, reported amply and fully on this memorable event. The three sons of Erik the Red, Thorfinn and his heroic wife, Gudrida, being distinguished by birth and social position, and some of them the heads of a large progeny, their descendants took pride and pleasure in describing and recording the exploits and adventures of their ancestors.

After Thorwald and Thorfinn, a voyage to Vinland may not have been considered as very remarkable. The way to it was found, and became, as it were, a beaten track, easy for everybody. The voyages to this country were no extraordinary exploring expeditions to a new region, but only commercial undertakings, probably to gather furs, wood, and other commodities for Greenland. They, therefore, were not chronicled and amply described. But sometimes we find them occasionally mentioned.

So in the year 1121, the voyage to Vinland of a bishop of Greenland, by the name of Erik, is mentioned in the Icelandic annals. This priest is said to have sailed to Vinland for missionary purposes. The fact, that such a high ecclesiastical functionary as a bishop should go to Vinland, appears to be good proof, that, since Thorfinn's time, Northman settlers had remained there, or, at least, that Northman traders, engaged in trafficking, fishing, and wood-cutting had tarried there, and that a constant intercourse with the colony had been maintained. The beauty of the country, so often praised by the Icelanders, and the profits which they had derived from some of their Vinland expeditions, must have been a great inducement to the colonists and traders to retain possession of the country, and not readily abandon it. Of the results of Bishop Erik's expedition we, unhappily, have no particular information.

After this remarkable voyage of the bishop we hear nothing of Vinland for more than a hundred years, nor of countries to the south-west of Greenland. Then we have again a brief notice, that, in the year 1285, two Icelandic clergymen, Aldabrand and Thorwald Helgason, who are often mentioned in Northern history, visited, on the west of Iceland, "a new land," and that some years afterwards, the king of Denmark, Erik the Priest-hater, sent out a ship under the command of a certain Rolf, to pay a visit to this "Newland," which is supposed to have been our Newfoundland.

Again, not quite a hundred years after this event, we find, in the ancient Icelandic Annals, the following very remarkable, though short report: "In the year 1347 a vessel, having a crew of seventeen men, sailed from Iceland to Markland." The dry and brief manner in which this is reported, seems to prove that this vessel of 1347 was not driven to "Markland" (Nova Scotia) by chance or by storms, but that the

expedition was intentional, undertaken probably for the purpose of getting timber and other supplies from that country. The whole affair is mentioned as a daily occurrence, and "Markland" as a perfectly well-known country. On the voyage homeward from Markland, the vessel was driven out of her course by storms, and arrived with loss of anchors on the west of Iceland. From such an account it would appear, that the intercourse between Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland had been kept up to as late a date as the middle of the fourteenth century.

We have very scanty information on the trading and fishing expeditions of the English, Portuguese, and French to the coast of Newfoundland during the sixteenth century, and they are only occasionally alluded to, though there is no doubt that they *yearly* occurred. We are much better informed of the expeditions of the Cabots, Cortereals, and Verrazano, which preceded those fishing voyages, and showed them the way. A comparison of the case of these fishermen with that of the Northmen will serve to make the views and suppositions above developed still more probable.

We cannot prove that in all this time the coast of Maine was seen again by the Northmen. But that this was the case, is not improbable from what has been said. The name of Markland (the country of the woods), in the northern geography, may have sometimes comprised the coast of Maine; which, at a later time, was often included in the same geographical denomination with Nova Scotia.

From the middle of the fourteenth century down to the modern discovery of America, beginning with Columbus and Cabot, we hear no more of Scandinavian undertakings in this direction. The heroic age of the Northmen, and their power and spirit of enterprise, had long ago passed by. Iceland, the

starting-point and mother republic of the western colonies, had become a subordinate and neglected dependency of the kings of Norway and Denmark. The Greenland settlements and bishopric by degrees had been weakened, and at last had completely disappeared, in consequence, as is believed, of epidemics, and of attacks from the Esquimaux, who came over in great numbers from Labrador; so that even their neighbors of Iceland lost sight of this country. In this manner the entire connecting chain between Scandinavia, Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland was broken, and the American portion remained to be discovered anew.

9. NEW ENGLAND CONSIDERED BY THE NORTHMEN TO BE A
PART OF EUROPE.

The heroic exploits and great undertakings of the Northmen in Iceland and Greenland, called into existence among them many enthusiastic and talented literary and scientific men, who strove to praise and to describe their exploits in writing. Iceland had, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, her poets, historians, and geographers. With them, who had discovered and conquered a great part of the globe, geography, in fact, must have been a favorite occupation; as it had been, for similar reasons, with the Arabs.

The Icelandic geographers described not only their own home, but gave also descriptions of the entire globe, so far as their knowledge had reached. They also depicted the globe on rough maps, and had their own systems and views on the arrangement and connection of the different great parts of the world.

The feature of this Icelandic geography, which interests us here most, is their idea on the question, what position on the globe should be ascribed to their discoveries in Greenland, Markland, Helluland, and Vinland. They appear not

to have had the conviction, that they had arrived on another continent, in a "new world"; which, after the later discovery of America by Columbus and others, became soon the conviction of modern geographers.

The Icelanders, on the contrary, thought that all these western countries made a part of Europe, and they affirmed this very clearly in their geographical works. And this conception, strange as it may appear to us at first sight, was quite natural from the stand-point of the Northman geographers in Iceland. Their original home, Norway, stretched far out to the north. Beyond this, toward the north-east, they had seen other European countries,—the northern parts of Russia (Biarmia, Novaja Zemlia). Perhaps on their excursions they had even come in sight of the mountains of Spitzbergen. So they saw, in all directions toward the north-east and the north, countries which they thought to be continental with each other as well as with Europe. To the north-west they found Greenland, which they considered to be a continuation of this chain of northern European countries. On many old Scandinavian maps, therefore, we see Greenland depicted as a large peninsula running out from some part of Russia, and encircling, with a large bend, the whole northern half of the Atlantic, and with its southern end (Cape Farewell) coming down to more southern latitudes. It is well known that Spitzbergen, at a later date, was considered to be a part of Greenland, and was even called "Greenland" or "Eastern Greenland." So by this gigantic "Greenland," a bridge was constructed from Europe to the other countries discovered in the western world.

The conception, that these southern countries, Helluland, Markland, Vinland, with Greenland, Iceland, Norwegia, belonged to the same tract or circle of North-European coun-

tries, was so much more natural, because all these countries, so far south as the coast of Maine, in their nature and configuration, have the greatest similarity. Indented, rocky coasts, with the same geological features (granite rocks), long inlets, fiords, numerous coast islands, were to be found everywhere, as in Norway and Iceland. The products of these tracts, also, were not strikingly different from those in Northern Europe,—firs, oaks, and other European trees in the forests; salmon and other fish in the rivers; and on the coast different sorts of cod-fish and whales, as on the coast of Norway. Nay, had not the German, Tyrker, discovered vines and grapes like those in Germany? The Scandinavians might, therefore, well think that they had found nothing very new, but only the extension and continuation of their own Norwegian home.

Columbus and his followers, when, at a later date, they arrived in the West Indies, within the tropics, became soon aware that they had something new before them. Having their imagination full of oriental notions, they saw in America even more new things, differences, and peculiarities, than really existed.

It would be easy to show and prove by many quotations from the books of modern travelers, that those who came from Great Britain, or other parts of Northern Europe, were not much surprised by the differing features of the north-eastern parts of the new world; but, on the contrary, were impressed by their similarity to what they had left. We might, indeed, speak of a Scandinavian America, which would extend as far south as New England, and more particularly the State of Maine.

From all this we may easily explain the alleged fact, that the old Icelandic geographers knew nothing of a fourth part of the world; that, like the Greek Ptolemy, they recog-

nized only three continents, and ascribed all their discoveries on the other side of the ocean to Europe.

An Icelandic geographer, in giving a description of the globe, thus expresses himself: "From Biarmaland (Northern Russia), the land goes out toward the north to uninhabited deserts (Nova Zembla, Spitzbergen), until Greenland commences. From Greenland toward the south lie Helluland (Newfoundland), Markland (Nova Scotia, Canada), and not far from this, Vinland, which, as some think, stretches out toward Africa. England and Scotland form one and the same island, and Ireland is a very large island. Iceland is also a large island on the north of Ireland. *All these countries are in that part of the world which is called Europe.*"* The same, in similar words, has been said by other northern geographers.†

It is well known that modern geographers, for a long time after they had acknowledged South America to be a separate continent, considered the north-eastern regions of America to be a part of Asia. So we may say that New England and the neighboring region were at first considered as a European country, then as a section of Asia, till at last they came to be put upon their own American feet.

In the appendage to this chapter I shall give a few Scandinavian maps, which will illustrate the views of the Icelandic geographers on these regions.

10. REMINISCENCES OF THE NORTHMEN AMONG THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

One would think that the extraordinary appearance of white men, of a much superior race, in immensely large

* See this piece of Icelandic geography quoted in Rafn, *Antiquitates Americane*, p. 289.

† See them quoted, and extracts given from their works, in Rafn, l. c. p. 290 seq.

ships, with iron tools and weapons, would have made a great impression on the barbarous natives of Vinland. They saw their guests come and go very often during the course of several centuries. They had battles, traffic, and converse with them. They admired their large tame animals, saw them constructing colossal ships and houses. Perhaps they mixed also in marriage with those of them who made a longer stay, and produced a mixed race of European and American blood. All this must have been remembered a long time after the final disappearance of the strange settlers.

The name of "Skrellings" was given by the Scandinavians, particularly to that race of Americans whom we now call "Esquimaux," at present the inhabitants of the arctic regions; and the name generally is said to signify "the small people" (*homunculi*); which signification applies very well to the Esquimaux, who are of a small contracted figure, but not so well to the tall Indians of the Abenaki or Algonkin race, which modern discoverers found on the east coast of North America.

Those who adopt the above interpretation of the name "Skrellings" have thought, that, in the time of the Northmen, our New England and vicinity had been inhabited by Esquimaux, and that after the time of the Northmen and before the time of Columbus and the Cabots they had been dispossessed, conquered, and driven to the north by the Algonkin or Abenaki Indians, coming from the west and south. If this had been the case, the historical traditions of the aborigines seen by the Northmen, and the impressions and impulses which they received from them, would have also disappeared.

In contradiction to this theory, Rafn shows, in his often quoted work,* that the word "Skrelling" does not exclu-

* Rafn, l. c. p. 45, note a.

sively mean "people small of body" (*homunculi*), as is usually supposed, but that it should be differently interpreted. Some Scandinavian authors have said, that the name was given to the aborigines from their meagre and poorly fed bodies, some from their little strength and mean armature. Others have said that the name should be derived from the Norse "*Skraekja*" (to cry), and that it meant "noisy criers." Others, again, have believed that it meant "*vagabonds*" or "*vagrants*." All these interpretations agree in this, that "*Skrelling*" was a name of contempt. And such a name, by the proud iron-clad Northmen, may have been given to our tall, but poorly living Indians, as well as to the small-bodied Esquimaux. The name, therefore, may have been a general denomination for all the barbarous tribes of America without reference to race. If this is the case, we may suppose that the Algonkin Indians, Micmacs, Tarratines, Pequots, and others, occupied the country at the time of the visits of the Northmen. And, indeed, this appears to me to be probable.

The Indians of New England, though in very ancient times they may have come from the west, had, so far as I know, no tradition whatever of their being new-comers in the countries where our modern discoverers found them, or of having recently conquered these countries. The idea that the East was their old home is, on the contrary, very deeply rooted. A conquest and a complete destruction of another old indigenous race (the Esquimaux) would not have been an easy affair for the Indians. The very first aborigines of our east coast, carried off at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries by the Cortereals and others, are described as a tall, well-built people. So that the Indians must have swept away the "Esquimaux" of New England, Nova Scotia, Canada, and Newfoundland, in that

not very long space between the times of the Northmen and of the Cabots and Cortereals. These same Indians are not even now rooted out by the much more powerful conquest of the French and English since Cabot, a period of about four hundred years. We have in Maine to-day a remnant of Indians in the midst of our civilization, which that has not swept away. I therefore believe, that the so-called Skrel-lings, which the Northmen found in New England, were not Esquimaux, but Indians of the Abenaki or Algonkin race, the same as found there in modern times.

This view is supported by the observations made by Rafn on some geographical names, which we have found in use among the Indians of the southern part of New England (Massachusetts, Rhode Island), and appear to be of Scandinavian origin. He quotes the Indian name for a locality in Narraganset Bay, which they call "Haup," and suggests that it might be the Scandinavian place "Hop," so often mentioned in the history of the Vinland expeditions of the Northman, Thorfinn Karlsefne. He quotes, also, the Indian name "Nauset" for the peninsula of Cape Cod, and thinks that it might be the somewhat changed Scandinavian name, "Naeset" (the *nose*,—the principal cape of the country), given by the Northmen, by way of distinction, to Cape Cod.* Such names would scarcely have been preserved in the country, if the inhabitants, in the time of the Northmen, had been Esquimaux, and our Indians recent immigrants.

Also, among the Wawenoc Indians of Maine, near Pemaquid, certain numerals have been handed down by tradition, bearing a resemblance to the Icelandic, which may have been derived by them in their barter with the northern strangers.

* Rafn, l. c. pp. 456, 457.

11. THE VOYAGES OF THE VENETIANS, ZENI, IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF THE ATLANTIC OCEAN AT THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

It is an extraordinary and nearly an inexplicable fact, that the Northmen, after having once found the countries included in the present United States so well fitted for colonization, did not continue their undertaking. They were planters, emigrants from their own country, and were seeking a new home. They populated under great difficulties the barren tracts of Iceland and Greenland, and founded there, in the neighborhood of the North Pole, flourishing colonies and states. They observed the attractive countries of New England, full of harbors and beautiful rivers, with a mild climate, where the vine and corn grew spontaneously, and where planting would have been easy. They recognized, enjoyed, and praised in their writings all these advantages. Whilst the Spaniards, at a later time, on their maps of the United States, as I shall show hereafter, wrote the inscription, "Here nothing good is to be found;" the Northmen, on the contrary, called those same tracts "*Vinland the Good.*"

Nay, more; whilst those navigators, who came after the Northmen, the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and English, made a discovery of America quite against their intention and wish, seeking only China and the East Indies, to which America was a barrier and obstacle; the Northmen, on the contrary, explored America *for its own sake*. It was itself the object of their Vinland expeditions. They did not think it to be a new world. They considered it as a continuation of Europe, as a part of their own Scandinavian home. Yet notwithstanding all this, they abandoned that country, and relinquished the advantages of their discovery, to retire to their icy northern home. Their attempt had no lasting and important consequences for civilization.

Nevertheless, this attempt was not *perfectly* isolated. It has had *some* influence on the progress of discovery and the history of geography. Though their undertaking did not become *universally* known, still the memory of it was kept up by some, who, from different sources, received a knowledge of it, and who followed in their track.

The first of these were certain navigators and travelers from Venice. The Venetians and the Genoese, though planted within their harbors in hidden corners of the Mediterranean during a great part of the middle ages, were the most active navigators and merchants of the time; and their vessels, at an early date, went far out into the Atlantic Ocean. Already in the thirteenth century some Genoese, the brothers Vadino and Guido de Vivaldi in the year 1281, and, again, Theodosio Doria and Ugolino Vivaldi in the year 1292, are said to have sailed far to the west and south, and, as some believe, "with the intention to explore the Atlantic and to find like Columbus a way to the oriental regions," though the reports on the intentions and results of these Italian expeditions are very uncertain.*

Great Britain was reached by the Venetians at a very early time. They had their entrepôts in London in the thirteenth century. Nay, some authors pretend that the intercourse of the Venetians with the north of Europe is lost in the darkness of the most ancient times.†

By northern historians the Italians are stated to have traded with their ships in the fifteenth century, before the time of Columbus and Cabot, in the southern parts of Ice-

* See about this, Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 46, 393. Berlin, 1852.

† See upon this, L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des Normands*, pp. 114, 116. Paris, 1832.

land, where German vessels from the Hanseatic towns, and English vessels from Bristol, then appeared.*

If Italians are *proved* to have come to Iceland in the fifteenth century, they *may* have been there also in former times.

Iceland, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was a powerful and aristocratic republic, and Greenland a flourishing colony. In both countries were several Roman Catholic bishops, who, being installed there by the pope, were in continuous intercourse with Italy. In Greenland, as late as the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, the so-called Peter-pence was collected, and sent from thence to Rome. The pope and his priests may be said, during all this time, to have had their eyes upon these quarters, so near to our region. Might there not also have come a pope's envoy in an Italian vessel to Greenland?

At all events, we need not be astonished to hear, at the end of the fourteenth century, of Italian navigators (Venetians) sailing to these northern countries, which had such a manifold interest for Italy, exploring them, describing them, and trying even to put down their outlines on a chart.

Nicolo Zeno, the descendant of an old well-known noble Venetian family, a wealthy and enterprising man, fitted out, at his own cost, a ship, soon after the famous battle of Chioggia, and navigated with her in the year 1380^x toward England. He was driven by a storm further to the north, and arrived at a group of islands by him named "Friesland," which have been proved to be our present "Farøe." These islands had been in the possession of the Northmen, and peopled by them since the year 861. Here the Venetian

* See upon this point, Eggert Olafsen, *Reise durch Island*, vol. 2, p. 231; and Finn Magnussen, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, vol. 2. Kopenhagen und Leipzig, 1774.

* 1380 anno domini, Nicolus Zeno, Venetianus, in Islandia.

traveler, Zeno, was kindly received by the Norman governor, or lord, "Zichmni," who ruled in this archipelago, having revolted against his chief, the king of Norway. The Venetian, with his vessel and able crew, assisted his friend in his war against the king, and was amply rewarded for it. He became Zichmni's prime minister and chief admiral, and, resolving to remain longer in this hospitable country, he sent to his brother, Antonio Zeno, in Venice, an invitation to join him in "Friesland." Antonio arrived in the year 1391, and had likewise a kind reception by the Lord of the Isles. The two brothers, having made this Zichmni independent and powerful, then thought of making expeditions, conquests, and explorations toward more distant countries. During their long stay of many years in "Friesland," they gained an extensive knowledge of all the islands and countries in the northern Atlantic, which they visited themselves, or of which they heard reports from their Northman friends. Thus they gained knowledge of the Shetland Islands, of the shores of Iceland and of Greenland, and heard also of some countries to the south of Greenland, named "Estotiland" and "Drogeo," to which the men of Friesland had once made an expedition, and of which they had gathered extensive information.

Nicolo Zeno died in the course of these occupations and undertakings, in the year 1395; and his brother, Antonio, who lived longer, described his own and his brother's adventures and discoveries in a book, in which he depicted on a chart, all the surrounding countries and islands, of which he and his brother had gained some knowledge. This he sent to his third brother, Carlo Zeno, who had remained in Venice. After this, he also died in the north, in the year 1404.

Carlo Zeno appears to have kept these writings as a memo-

rial of his brothers, and put them into the archives of his noble family, where the manuscript became damaged and partly decayed. After the invention of printing, and after the modern discovery of America, it fell into the hands of a descendant and member of the Zeno family, "Nicolo Zeno the younger," who, in the year 1558, published all that remained of the wonderful reports on the voyages and adventures of his ancestors; and the book, now for the first time became known to the learned, and created a great sensation in the world.

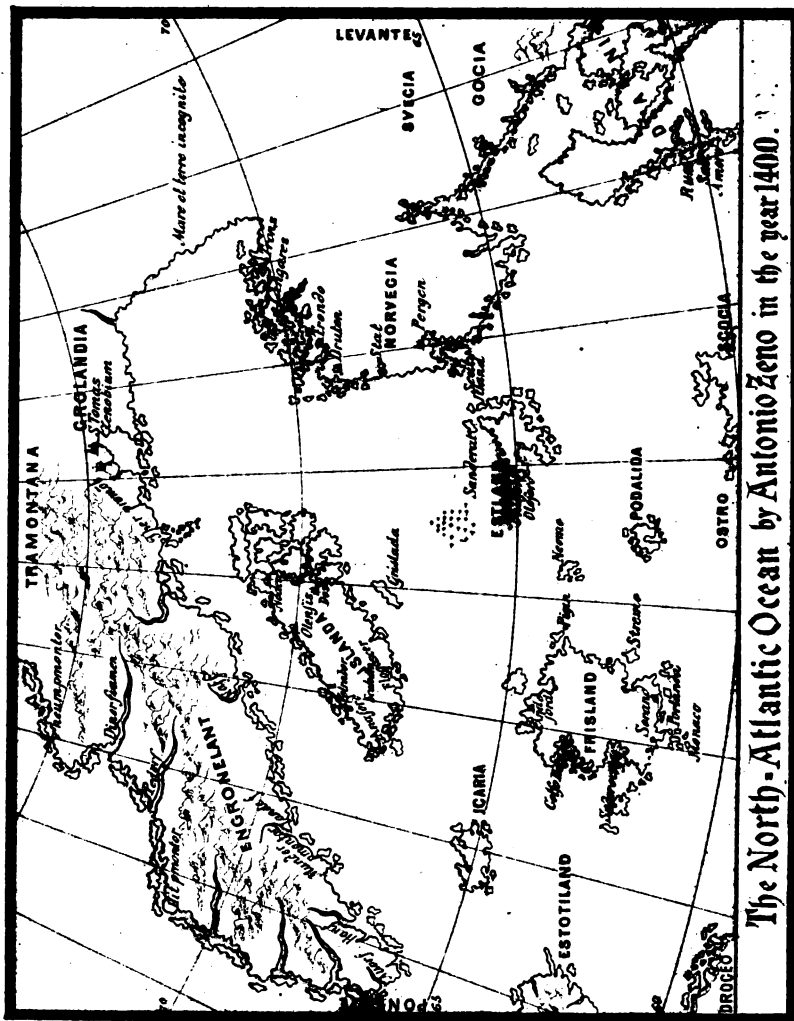
Some believed that it was altogether a fiction, invented by the Venetians to damage the fame of their Genoese rivals and the Spaniards, and to prove that America had been discovered and described by one of their own people long before Columbus. Others, on the contrary, accepted the book as a true and faithful report of voyages and discoveries really made by the authors, and considered their chart as the best and most authentic source of information on the North Atlantic regions.

The discussions on this point were carried on through several centuries, until, in modern times, after a critical and careful examination of the contents of the work of the said Venetians, the greater part of the learned have acknowledged the reality of their voyages and the faithfulness of their reports, although it is admitted that they contained many misconceptions, and were embellished with fanciful fables.*

The most important part of the work of the Zeni is,

* See upon this, Ramusio, *Navigazioni i Viaggi*, tom. 2, fol. 330; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. 5, parte 1, p. 123 seq. Firenze, 1807; Foscarini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana*, p. 431. Venezia, 1814; C. C. Zahotmann, *Om Zeniernes Reiser in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, vol. 2, p. 9. Kjobenhavn, 1833; Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, pp. 47, 82, 361, 370, 372 ff., 388; and, above all, T. Lelewel, *Géographie du Moyen Age*, tom. 3, p. 79 seq.

Nº I.



decidedly, the chart annexed to it ; because, without it, it is impossible to understand clearly the contents of their report. I will annex a copy of the map ; and, in examining it, will also treat of the contents of the report, so far as they may touch the subject of our research.

THE SEA-CHART OF NICOLO AND ANTONIO ZENO, MADE
ABOUT THE YEAR 1400.

The sea-chart of the brothers Zeni, drawn at the end of the fourteenth century, and published in the year 1558, is, in many respects, a most extraordinary and important production. One great country, Greenland, was drawn on it with more accuracy than had been done on any known map before the year 1400, or even before 1558. The chart was copied by many distinguished geographers, adopted by them as true, and introduced into their general works. Its errors or misrepresentations were also continued ; and several countries which existed only on the Zeni's chart, were introduced into geography, and sought after by explorers, until at last, after two hundred years, the errors were exposed. Several navigators and discoverers, amongst others Frobisher, had the map of the Zeni as a guide on board their vessels, and sailed by it.* Upon the whole, we can point out scarcely any map which has given so much light, and has, at the same time, caused so much confusion.

The copy which we give is made after the first edition of it published in the year 1558, by Nicolo Zeno. I have copied the outlines and configurations of the countries exactly as they were given there, and also the degrees of latitude and longitude contained on it. For though this graduation was not on the original manuscript, but added by the editor,

* See upon this, G. M. Asher, Henry Hudson, p. 167. London, 1806.

“Nicolo Zeno the younger,” and though it occasioned much misunderstanding and confusion, still it was adopted as true by subsequent geographers, was copied by them, and gained, in this manner, an historical importance. Without this graduation, although not originally placed there, we could not understand the ideas and works of subsequent map-makers, who believed in its truth.

The original is covered with numerous names ; some of them evidently correct, existing Scandinavian names, which can easily be identified, or which contain, at least, a Scandinavian element ; for instance, all those ending with “fiord.” These names, which I have put down on my copy, have great interest for us ; for they prove that they were derived from the true source, and that the authors of the map, who could not find them on other maps existing in Europe at that time, must have taken them on the spot.

There are, however, many other names on the original, which appear strange and fanciful, and cannot be identified with modern names ; they evidently never existed in northern countries in the form in which they are here set down. Originally they may have been real and true geographical names, but written on the first draught by Antonio Zeno in an unintelligible manner. The Italian copyists, publishers, and printers of 1558, may have read them according to their own style and view. As the original manuscript of the map had been much damaged, the publishers may have restored some defaced names according to their fancy. These fanciful and strange names, therefore, are no proof whatever against the authenticity of the original map. But I have omitted them, because I cannot decipher and explain them, and because they would only embarrass the reader. For our purpose it is quite sufficient to have the intelligible names, or only some of them, to assure us, that the map is perfectly

worthy of our attention. The chart and all its contents have been examined and explained so thoroughly by several authors, particularly by Lelewel, that I have here but little to do but to make, from his results, a choice of those points which appear to me important for my subject.*

The chart gives in the south-east, at first, the northern point of "Scocia" (Scotland), and then the peninsula of Jutland, which, for the time, 1400, is remarkably well drawn. The same may be said of the waters and gulfs between Jutland and the south coast of "Suecia" (Sweden), and "Norvegia" (Norway), the so-called "Skager Rak," and "Cattegat."

Along the coast of Norway we meet several well-known points and places: "pergen" (the town of Bergen); "stat" (the famous Cape Statlant); "tronde" (the town of Drontheim); and far in the north-east, "Gwardus en-sula" (Vardöehuus). The long Archipelago of the numerous Lofföden Islands is depicted, though not named.

The configuration given to the middle and northern parts of the coast of Norway is not correct. But it is better drawn than on any other map before the year 1400, on which no other country of Europe was so much disfigured as Scandinavia. Nay, on many maps of the first half of the sixteenth century, Scandinavia is made to look like a *terra incognita*.

The northern parts of Russia are not indicated; and the author of the map, in putting here dotted or uncertain lines, with the inscription, "mare et terre incognite" (seas and countries unknown), gives us to understand, that he will not decide the question, whether the navigable sea ends here, and

* See Lelewel's Essay on the "Tavola di Zeni" in his "Geographie du Moyen Age," tom. 3, p. 79 seq.

whether the northern parts of Europe are connected by *terra firma* with arctic countries round the pole, or not.

Going from "Norvegia" to the west, the next group of islands is called "Estland" (our present Shetland), which, as on our map, is situated between the north of Scotland and the middle coast of Norway. The ancient Scandinavian name for those islands was "Hialtland," and more commonly, "Hitland." Our map has this name (spelled "itland"). Several names, ending with the Scandinavian "fort," "incafort," "onlefort," "olofort," prove at least that we have before us Northman names, which, in ancient times, may have existed, or which were somewhat changed, under the orthography of the Italians.

To the west of the Shetlands occurs the great island "Frisland," surrounded by several smaller ones. The name, "Frisland," conducts us to the group, which, at present, is named the "Faeroer" (Farøe), and which, in ancient times, were called "Faereyjar" or "Fareysland," or "Ferrisland," shortened to "Freesland," or "Frisland." Some of the names given by our author to "Frisland" correspond to names still found among the Faeroer (Farøe). So the following in the south: "monaco" (the monk), the most southern point of the Farøe group, a rock, is still called the Monk (Munk);* and so "sorand," the southern section of "Frisland," is very probably "Suderøe," the most southern island of the Farøe group.

"Sudero colfo" (Gulf of Sudero) is our present "Sudero sund," a channel separating the said southern island from the rest of the group, "colfo nordero" (the Gulf of Nordero). Nordero or Norderoe (the northern island) is still the name of one of the northern Farøe; "streme"—"stromoc," is the

* See Baggesen, *Den Danske Stat*, p. 451. Kjobenhavn, 1840.

present name of the largest of the Farøe; and "andoford," "Andefiord" (the bay of the ducks), a gulf in the northern part of the island of "Oesterøe," still bears that name.

These names alone will be sufficient to prove, that the "Frisland" of the Zeni is our present Farøe group.* They put this group nearly in its right position and relation to Scotland, north-west of it, and at the true distance from Iceland. That they made the Farøe so extremely large may be explained from the fact, that they resided upon them for more than twenty years, and that it was their central or starting point for all their expeditions. Lelewel, with good reason, thinks that on the original manuscript map of the Zeni of the year 1400, the Frisland or Farøe group was cut up into many smaller islands, and that the manuscript was injured, particularly at that part, the lines of the interior channels destroyed; and that, in this manner, such a large piece of country as we find on our map, was delivered to the engraver and painter of 1558.† But nearly all the subsequent geographers and map-makers after 1558 concluded that there still existed in the northern Atlantic, a large country, "Frisland," similar in size to Iceland or Greenland. The history of this geographical problem, and how it was solved, is very interesting; but I omit it here, as not connected with our subject.

"Islanda" (Iceland) is placed in its right position, midway between the central parts of Norway and Greenland, and the size given to it is nearly the true one; though the general outlines or form are not quite so.

Among the names which attest the acquaintance of the Zeni with this country are the following, namely: in

* For more proofs and for the literature of this subject, see Lelewel, l. c. p. 103, note 46.

† See Lelewel, l. c. p. 101.

the South, "flogascer" (or foglaster), corresponding to "fuglasker" (the bird rocks), a name still found in the south of Iceland; "Scalodin" (Skalholt), in the interior of the south part of Iceland, the famous ancient residence of one of its bishops; "Anaford" (Anafjord or Hanefjord), a bay on which the place Hanas was standing; "Olensis," "Holum," or "Holar," the residence of the second bishop of Iceland, "episcopus Holensis;" "Noder," something like "Norden."

In their excursions from "Frisland" (the Farøe) the Zeni reached also Greenland, on the map called "Engronelant" and "Gronlandia." They appear to have visited it; and the Scandinavian seamen communicated to them their own knowledge of this country, which, at the time of the Zeni, was still a flourishing colony, full of small settlements.

The draught, which the Zeni give on their map of Greenland, is the most remarkable part of their whole work. The size and form they give to Greenland; its triangular shape; its broad extension to the north, and the pointed and narrow peninsula in the south; the high mountains in the interior, and the chain of small islands, peninsulas, headlands, and fiords all round the coast; the latitude given to it, the middle parts north-west of Iceland, and the southern point in the latitude of Bergen, in Norway,—all these are strikingly true features of this large country. It is not probable that the Zeni saw and explored all this themselves. Such a figure of Greenland as they give could only be the result of long research and intimate acquaintance with the country. They, no doubt, obtained their information from the Northmen. Nay, they must have received maps and charts from them. Even if we did not know that the old Northmen made charts of their colonies, we might be certain from this picture of Greenland by the Zeni, that they

could not have drawn it without having before them some map prepared from long observation. Neither in the year 1400, the date of the original of our map, nor in 1558, the date of its being engraved and published, could such a truthful representation of Greenland be found in Europe, either in manuscript or print. The Zeni by their map enriched and corrected the knowledge of the globe with respect to an essential point. Some admirers of their map have given it as their opinion, that they owed their original to the aborigines of Greenland, the Esquimaux, who are known to be skillful in drawing maps. I doubt, however, whether the Esquimaux were able to make such a good *general* and comprehensive picture of their far-extended home, as we see on our map. The knowledge of Esquimaux geographers, probably, did not go very far beyond the cape or fiord on which they were settled. Such a comprehensive picture could only proceed from, and be the result of distant and often-repeated navigations, such as the Northmen were used to make.

Only on the distant north-east of Greenland, which is still undefined, the Zeni and their informants were uncertain; as also on the north-east of Norway. According to their draught they appear to have doubted, whether Greenland was separated from the old world by water or united to it by land.

The Greenland of the Zeni, after 1558, was many times copied by European geographers, and embodied into their general maps of the world, though they wrongly connected it with other countries in consequence of the incorrect graduation of our map, subsequently interpolated by a descendant of the Zeni, Nicolo Zeno the younger. If the old Zeni themselves could have explained their map, they might have told their descendants, that they would not have the southern point of their Greenland end in 66° north latitude, knowing very well that it came down much further to the south.

I omit here an examination of the particular Greenland names on the map of Zeno, as not being of much interest for our subject, but refer the reader to the essay of Lelewel.*

I come now to those smaller portions of country set down in the south-west corner of the Zeni's map, to which the names "Icaria," "Estotiland," and "Droceo" are given, and which, for us here, have the greatest interest.

Antonio Zeno, in the report on his and his brother's voyages, relates, that, according to the assertions of their Frisland friends, a fishing vessel from "Frisland,"—the Farøe, being driven by a storm far out to the west, arrived at a country named "Estotiland," the inhabitants of which had commerce with "Engroenelandt" (Greenland). This country, Estotiland, was very fertile, and had high mountains in the interior. The king of the country had in his possession some books written in Latin, which, however, he did not understand. The language which he and his subjects spoke had no similarity whatever to the Norse.

The king of Estotiland, seeing that his guests sailed in much safety with the assistance of an instrument (the compass), persuaded them to make a maritime expedition to another country situated to the south of Estotiland, and called "Drogeo," or "Droceo." There they had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a most barbarous tribe. They were all killed except one, who was made a slave, and who, after a long time and after many adventures, at last found his way back to Greenland and to the Farøe. He related, that the country, "Drogeo," stretched far to the south, and was a very large country, like another world, and that it was all full of savage tribes, who covered themselves with skins and lived by hunting. They had no other weapons than bows and arrows, and lived among each other in an eternal warfare.

* Lelewel, l. c. p. 98.

But far off to the south-west were some more civilized nations, which knew the use of the precious metals, and built towns and temples; it was, however, their custom to kill their prisoners and offer them to their gods.

This appears to have been for the time, 1400, a pretty good description of the state of things in America as far down as Mexico. And if it does not seem possible that all this information could be brought together by that one Scandinavian slave, or traveler, among the Indians of "Drogeo," it may, perhaps, be taken as a resumé of all the knowledge acquired by the Northmen on their expeditions to the west and south-west. This traveler may have heard these tales on his return to Greenland or Iceland, and may have brought this tradition to the Farøe, and to the ears of the Zeni.

The name "Estotiland" appears to be of German origin, and has been explained as "East-outland," or the land lying far out toward the east. Because Newfoundland stretches out more toward the east than any other part of America on the south of Greenland, some have thought that "Estotiland" might be a Northman name for that island. Others have applied the name to our present Labrador. And others, again, seeing that Antonio Zeno puts on his map to the north-east of Estotiland, but south of Greenland, another pretty large island with the name of "Icaria," have thought that this "Icaria" (which Antonio Zeno asserts that he had visited with his friend Zichmni, after having received the favorable report of the country, "Drogeo"), might be Newfoundland, and that Estotiland on the south-west, our Cape Breton and Nova Scotia. "Drogeo," of which Zeno gives on his map only a small part, would then be our New England. According to this view we would have, as in the old Icelandic reports, three countries to the south of Greenland:

1. Icaria (Helluland, Newfoundland). 2. Estotiland (Markland, Nova Scotia). 3. Drogeo (Vinland, New England).*

The subsequent geographers and map-makers (after 1558), Mercator, Ortelius, etc., did not interpret the Zeni's map as we have done. They adopted everything contained in this map, also the south-western countries, Icaria, Estotiland, and Drogeo; but they made them swim like additional separate islands in the midst of the ocean, putting to the west of them the countries, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, which they represented in the manner and shape given to them by the navigators and explorers of the sixteenth century.

It will probably be impossible to make the history and geography of Icaria, Estotiland, and Drogeo quite clear. But from their position to the south-west of Greenland it appears to be certain, that some sections of the north-east of America are indicated by them. And so, at all events, to our map of 1400 must be ascribed the particular distinction and merit, *that it is the first and oldest map known to us, on which some sections of the continent of America have been laid down.*

* Lelewel on his map puts "Drogeo" exactly in the locality of the territory of the State of Maine.

Nº II.



APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER II.

CHARTS OF THE NORTHMEN.

1. ON THE MAP NO. 2 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, DRAWN BY THE ICELANDER, SIGURDUS STEPHANIUS, IN 1570.

THE Scandinavian historian, Thormodus Torfaeus, gives in his work "*Gronlandia Antiqua*" (Ancient Greenland), Havnæ, 1706, engravings of several old and very curious charts of the North Atlantic. As authors of these charts he mentions some learned Scandinavian draughtsmen from Iceland.

All these draughts in Torfaeus have in common the following features : they place Iceland about the center of the picture, somewhat in the same manner as old European maps placed the holy city, Jerusalem, in the midst of their pictures of the world. To the north of this their home, from which the Northmen, on their excursions in all directions, went to discover the circumjacent countries, they put Greenland ; to the east, Norway and Russia ; to the south, Great Britain and France ; and to the west, parts of America and also Greenland.

Greenland, for the Icelanders so important a region, is depicted as an extremely large country. So also are the neighboring islands, the "*Farøe*," and "*Hetland*" (our Shetland). Great Britain and France, like countries seen from a distance, are of a rather small size.

Between Greenland and Russia ("*Biarmaland*," the present "*Perm*"), the ocean contracts to a narrow channel, named on some of the maps "*Dumbshaf*." On the greater part of the maps, the ocean between southern Europe and America is also very narrow ; so that the whole North Atlantic appears to be an inland sea, with four narrow outlets ; one in the south, one in the north (the *Dumbshaf*), one in the east, looking to the Baltic ; and one in the west, conducting to the arctic waters, our Davis' Strait, with the old Norman name "*Ginnungagap*."

I give here two of the Icelandic maps contained in Torfaeus (Nos. 2 and 3). Our present map, No. 2, according to Torfaeus,—or more particularly according to "*Magister Theodorus Torlacius*," whom Tor-

faeus quotes in the notes to the map, and who was himself a historian of Iceland,—was made in the year 1570, by Sigurdus Stephanus, an Icelander. Torlacius calls him a “learned man, once the most worthy rector of the school in Skalhott, a well-known place in Iceland, who published also a description of Iceland.” “He appears” says Torlacius, “to have taken this his picture from the Icelandic antiquities” (“Delineationem hanc suam ex antiquitatibus Islandicis desumpsisse videtur”). Perhaps among those Icelandic antiquities were not only reports, but also some draughts and charts; though Rafn, in his “Antiquitates Americanæ,” does not state that he found charts among the Icelandic manuscripts seen by him.

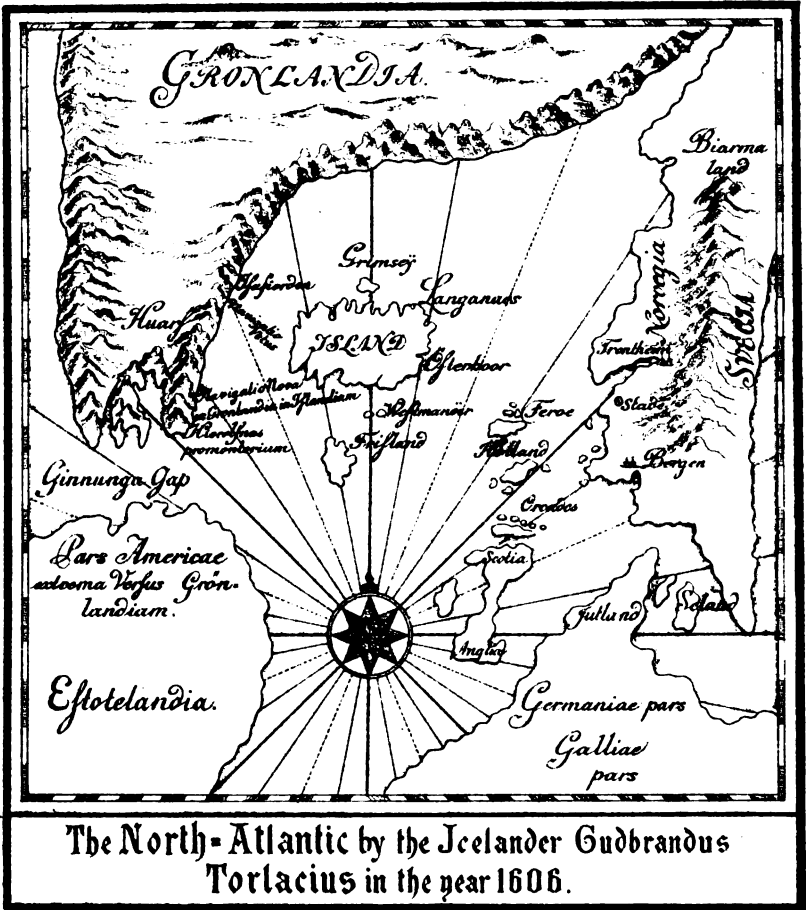
Iceland has, on our map, too low a latitude. It is too near the southern point of Heriolfssnaes (Cape Farewell). The whole southern section of “Groenlandia” (Greenland) is extended too far to the east.

To the south-west we meet “Helluland” (Newfoundland). Between the two countries is a gulf, the ancient “Ginnungagap” of the Northmen (Davis’ Strait). “Helluland” (Newfoundland) is represented as a peninsula, projecting eastward.

To the south of “Helluland” comes a gulf, the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and then another peninsula similar to the former, called “Markland” (Nova Scotia). The little gulf to the south of “Markland” is the entrance to our Bay of Fundy.

After this little inlet there opens to the south a large gulf, resembling, in size and form, the Gulf of Maine, sometimes called by the Northmen, “Vinlands-Haf.” The gulf ends in the south, with a pointed *cul de sac*, formed by a very conspicuous headland, which is called “Promontorium Vinlandiæ” (the Cape of Vinland). This *cul de sac* has a striking similarity to our Cape Cod Bay. And the cape which is called “Promontorium Vinlandiæ,” has about the form of a hook, or a ship’s nose. I think it cannot be doubted, that we have here a picture of the old and famous Cape “Kialarnes” (Ship-nose) of the Northmen. That this cape should be called “the Promontory of Vinland,” is very natural; because it really is the most conspicuous headland of all that tract of country, which, among the Northmen, was designated as “Vinland.”

All these countries, “Helluland,” “Markland,” and “Vinland” have the same relative position to Greenland; and follow in the same series in which they are given in the old reports on the discoveries of the Northmen. That they have a much higher latitude than is at present given to them,—for instance, Helluland, the latitude of southern Norway; Vinland, the latitude of southern England,—ought not to astonish us; because Stephanus, the author of the map, could not gain much



light on the latitudes from the old Icelandic reports. On some of the old Icelandic maps, "Terra Florida" has the latitude of northern France. Nor should the colossal dimensions, given on our map to the point "Promontorium Vinlandiæ," deceive us. The Cape of Vinland, the Cape Kialarnes, is so often mentioned in the reports of the Northmen, and takes such a prominent place in the history of their discoveries, that, according to its great fame and name, it must have stood before the mind of an Icelandic draughtsman, as something very grand.

That the Icelfander, Stephanius, in constructing his map, used European originals, is evident from his fabulous island of "Frisland," to the south of Iceland. That this island, in the place assigned to it, did not exist, must have been pretty well known in Iceland itself. It could only be found in Italian, German, or other European maps. Therefore Theodorus, in his notes, adds the remark: "What island this is, I do not know, if, perhaps, it be not that country which a Venetian (Nicolo Zeno) discovered, and which the Germans call Friesland."

For his figure of Great Britain and Ireland, he may also have used foreign maps. But for the coast of America ("Helluland," "Markland," "Promontorium Vinlandiæ"), he could not find upon the European maps of 1570 anything like what he has drawn. This part he must have taken from Icelandic originals.

From all this I conclude, that we have here in the "Promontorium Vinlandiæ" a good type of our Cape Cod *after old Northman originals*, and in the gulf and coast between this and "Markland," *an indication of the Gulf of Maine*, with the coast of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine.

2. ON THE MAP NO. 3 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, DRAWN BY GUDBRANDUS TORLACIUS IN 1606.

For the sake of comparison and to illustrate further the geography of the old Northmen of Iceland, we have added, in No. 3, a copy of another map, contained in Torfaeus, and made about forty years later than the former.

This map, according to the notes added to it by Theodorus Torlacius, was delineated by Gudbrandus Torlacius, "a most learned man, who was fifty-six years bishop in Iceland, and a reformer of the churches and schools of the country."

Which of these originals this bishop used for the construction of his map, we do not learn. The narrow form given to the North Atlantic,

with Iceland in the center, as usual on Icelandic maps, presents a view of the whole field of the Northman discoveries.

To the east coast of North America the bishop has not paid much attention. He calls it "Estotilandia," a name not invented in Iceland, but introduced into geography by the Zeni.

The principal feature of the map is the very correct configuration of Greenland, which here is much better depicted than on the former map. It would have been an improvement of many European maps of the year 1606, if this Icelandic representation of Greenland had become known in Europe. The Icelanders spoiled their maps by introducing "Frisland," "Estotiland," and other imaginary countries, which then retained a place in the geography of Europeans, who took no notice of these old Icelandic maps.

Some modern geographers (for instance Malte Brun)* mention a manuscript map, made by Gudbrand Torlakson, as being preserved in the royal library of Copenhagen. I have not had the good fortune to see this map, but it probably contains the same things, which we find depicted on our No. 3, "made by Gudbrandus Torlacius."

* See Malte Brun, *Geschichte der Erdkunde* Herausgegeben von E. A. W. von Zimmernann, vol. 2, p. 188. Leipzig, 1812.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH TRADING EXPEDITIONS FROM BRISTOL AND OTHER ENGLISH PORTS TOWARD THE NORTH-WEST, PRINCIPALLY TO ICELAND, DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.—JOHN, OF KOLNO.—COLUMBUS.

THOUGH Iceland, after the loss of her colonies in Greenland and America, and after she had become a dependent province of Denmark in 1380, was not so powerful as before, yet she remained, in the fourteenth century, an important province, and the country was pretty well peopled. There were always two bishops on the island, and a number of influential and wealthy families and chieftains, having many wants, which their northern country was unable to supply, and which could be supplied only from the south. She therefore remained during the fifteenth century the object of a lively commerce. The inhabitants received their southern necessities partly from Norway through Bergen, where the Hanseatic towns had their great emporium and factory for the whole North; but principally, perhaps, from that neighboring southern country, from which Iceland had, in former times, received her first Christian settlers, the "Papas," prior to the Northmen, and with which the connection and intercourse had probably never ceased.*

* See upon this, Finn Magnusen, "Om de Engelskes Handel paa Island i det 15 de Aarhundrede in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed," 2 Bind, p. 164. Kiøbenhavn, 1833.

The navigation from the ports of Great Britain to Iceland appears to have been particularly flourishing during the time above indicated. Several British ports were used in this trade. Hull, London, and Bristol are mentioned as such; and Scotch and Irish vessels are said to have gone over at times, for fishing and commercial purposes. But the principal seat and centre of all these commercial expeditions to Iceland was Bristol, the same port from which, afterwards, the Cabots set out for their famous north-western discoveries. The goods which the English carried to Iceland were manifold: cloth, and other manufactures; corn, wheat, and other breadstuffs; wine, beer, and other liquors.* They received in exchange for these commodities fish, principally stockfish. Iceland and its waters were, together with the coast of Norway, the great fishing-ground for cod; and we may call it, in this respect, the forerunner of the Newfoundland Banks, the great outpost for European fishermen in later times.† Sometimes also learned men, or at least priests, appear to have gone out with those English fishermen and merchants to the north-west. At least, a certain Nicolas, of Linne, is mentioned, as having made a voyage to the north-west from the English port of "Linne," now Kingslynn, in Norfolk, and as having arrived in Iceland with favorable winds in a fortnight.‡

How brisk this commerce in some years must have been, is clear from the fact mentioned by Norwegian authors, that in the month of April, 1419, a heavy snow-storm in a short

* See them mentioned in Finn Magnusen, l. c. p. 147.

† An old English poem of the fifteenth century, quoted by Hakluyt, begins with these words:

"Of Iceland to write is little nede
Save of Stockfish," etc.

‡ See on this, C. C. Zartmann, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 48, 1836.

time destroyed not less than twenty-five English vessels, the cargoes and wrecks of which were scattered on the coasts of Iceland and circumjacent islands, whilst the crews were swallowed by the sea.* The English, thinking that so great disasters could not have happened without the assistance and ill-will of the Icelanders, went over to Iceland with an armed force to take revenge for the robberies of which they accused them. English men-of-war, or "pirates," as the Icelanders called them, during the course of the century, went repeatedly over to Iceland to seek satisfaction for some supposed insult. They made war in the island, settled and fortified themselves there, and seemed as if they had the intention of conquering the whole country. Now and then, also, they quarreled with the merchants and mariners from the Hanseatic ports, in many respects their rivals in the commerce of Northern Europe; who, likewise, as I have mentioned above, often sailed to Iceland; and with whom the English, from time to time, had conflicts in those northern seas.

It is not my intention to give a complete history of the commerce from England, and particularly from Bristol to Iceland; but it is interesting and important to show the English posted on that great northern oceanic high-road, which had conducted the Europeans repeatedly to discovery in north-eastern America, and to see them in the Icelandic waters, on the threshold of America, occupied with fishing, and military, piratical, and commercial expeditions. Under these circumstances, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that English vessels may have been driven by storms to Greenland, Labrador, Vinland, and so to the coast of Maine; as the old Northmen and the Zeni were driven to "Frisland." Though the vessels of the fifteenth century

* See on this, Finn Magnussen, l. c. 115.

had the advantage of the compass, which the old Northmen had not, still if one storm alone, that of 1419, could disperse and destroy twenty-five English vessels, there may have been many chances for widely ranging oceanic adventures in those seas. We have, however, no reports of any such event, as in previous times is said to have happened to Prince Madoc, to Naddod, Bjarne, and the subjects of king Zichmni. The only exception to this appears to be the report, that pirates at that time had their lurking-places on the coast of Greenland.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, in the year 1476, the king of Denmark, Christian I, is said to have sent out, under the command of a certain John Scolnus, more correctly called John of Kolno, a native of Poland, an exploring expedition on the same old northern route toward the West. The first author who very briefly mentions this Polish adventure, is the Spanish historian Gomara, in the year 1553, without, however, stating from whom he had it. The Dutch cosmographer, Cornelius Wytfliet, more fully speaks of him in his well-known work, "*Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum. Lovanii, 1597.*" On folio 102 of this work, after having related the voyage of the Zeni, he says, that, in the year 1476, the said John Scolnus, sailing beyond Norway, Frisland (Iceland?), and Greenland, entered the Arctic Strait (*Boreale fretum ingressus, sub ipso arctico circulo*); and came to Labrador and Estotiland. Neither does Wytfliet say, from what source he had this report. But after his time it was a current opinion among geographers and historians, that Kolno, in the year 1476, had discovered, under the direction and order of Christian I., the strait called Anian,—a north-western passage through Hudson's Strait. Many have repeated this report without finding any other authority for it than Gomara and Wytfliet.

But the Danish and Norwegian writers upon this subject consider that voyage as altogether apocryphal, and say, that their old northern historians and documents do not contain the slightest mention of such an expedition. Moreover, they think that if it was made at all, it could have been nothing more than an attempt to find out again the lost old Greenland, and not to make new discoveries in the distant west.* The learned Polish geographer, Lelewel, though inclined, from a patriotic motive, to make a great deal of the undertaking ascribed to his countrymen, has found no Polish authority whatever. We therefore dismiss this somewhat celebrated voyage with the simple statement, that it probably never took place, or that, at all events, it had nothing to do with Vinland and Maine, as, indeed, Lelewel explicitly alleges.

It is curious, however, that in the very next year after that ascribed to the pretended voyage of this Pole, namely, in the year 1477, another great navigator, the greatest and most famed of all, Christopher Columbus himself, went out to explore and reconnoiter on the very same old northern route toward the west. And if, as Lelewel says, the voyage of Scolnus at once became known in Portugal and Spain, he might as well have added the supposition, that perhaps also Columbus heard of it, and that he might have been attracted to the north by the reports of this expedition of Christian I. Columbus, having his mind full of speculations and ideas about the possibility of a circumnavigation of the globe, and about the short distance between Europe and the eastern end of Asia, made several trials and performed several voyages preparatory, so to say, to his grand undertaking. He went in a southern direction to Madeira, Porto-Santo, the Canary Islands, nay, to the coast of Guinea. He made himself

* See for this the work, *Grönland's Historiske Mindesmaerker*. Tredie Bind, p. 630. Kiöbenhavn, 1845.

acquainted with all the routes of the Portuguese, and also with the extreme *ne plus ultra* of their discoveries in a western direction, toward the Azores or Western Islands. Humboldt thinks it probable, that he himself made an excursion to this western out-post of Portuguese discovery.* Columbus tried also, in the year 1477, the northern route, sailing (probably with an English merchantman from Bristol) toward Iceland, and even some distance beyond it. What induced him to undertake this voyage, he has not told us. But very probably it was the fame of the Ultima Thule, that attracted him. He had read, probably, about it in his old books, in which it was described as the most remote country discovered by the Romans. And he might have inquired, "Are there not still other countries beyond it, and, perhaps, some parts of Asia quite near to it?" The distinguished French geographer, Malte Brun, has supposed, that Columbus, while yet in Italy, had heard something of the early discoveries of the Northmen beyond Thule.† And this is not at all unlikely. In Rome, the center of the world, where they had always an eye upon all countries, both heathen and Christian, they certainly knew something of Greenland; and in Venice, the voyages of the Zeni, though they were not printed as yet, may have been known to some persons. A Danish author thinks it also possible, that Columbus, who made research in all books, printed and manuscript, about his supposed countries in the west, had become acquainted with some copy of the work of the well-known old historian, Adam of Bremen, who clearly mentioned the discovery of Vinland.‡

By such hints Columbus may have been induced to make

* Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, p. 231. Berlin, 1852.

† See upon this, Malte Brun, *Histoire de la Géographie*, ed. 2, pp. 395, 499.

‡ See Finn Magnussen, l. c. p. 165, note 1.

his voyage to Iceland, "and a hundred leagues beyond it." This must have brought him nearly in sight of Greenland, and, at all events, for the first time, *into American waters*.

We have, unhappily, only a very short notice* of this, to us, particularly interesting voyage, which evidently was a pioneering or exploring expedition in the direction toward the north-east parts of America. But so much seems certain, that he did not merely *sail along* Iceland (Thule), but stayed some time in the country, and conversed with the inhabitants. If so, this great inquirer must have asked questions enough about countries lying to the west; and he may have heard much about Greenland, Markland, and Vinland. There must have been in the year 1477, in Iceland, many people who well recollected these countries. The last ship from Markland (Nova Scotia) and its vicinity, had returned to Iceland, as I have stated, only about a hundred years before the visit of Columbus. It was only sixty-seven years before, that the last Icelandic ship had arrived from Greenland (1410). And even in the year 1445, an Icelander, Björn Thorleifson and his wife are *said* to have gone to Greenland, and to have stayed there a winter. Many persons in Iceland may have well recollected all this in the year 1477; and, moreover, the old writings about the expeditions of the Northmen toward the west, were then very well known and read by many persons in Iceland. Rafn and Finn Magnusen think it possible, that Columbus, having landed in Hoalfjardareyri, at that time the principal port of Iceland, saw and spoke there with the learned Icelandic bishop, Magnus Eyolfson, of Skalholt, who is known to have been at that place in 1477.†

* See this in Fernando Colombo, *Vita dell' ammiraglio Christophoro Colombo*, etc., cap. 4. Venetia, 1571.

† See upon this, Rafn, *Antiquitates Americane*. Introduction, p. xxiv, note 1. A learned friend of mine, M. Sigurdson, Royal Archivist in Kopen-

At all events there were sources enough, both books and persons, from which Columbus might, in the year 1477, have learned something about countries lying not very far to the west and south-west from Iceland; and we may well be allowed to think, that by this information he was confirmed in his belief, of an easy and comparatively short navigation to the east of Asia. Baron Humboldt, who also believed that the exploring expedition of Columbus to Iceland had been proved,* thinks, notwithstanding, that it had little to do with the plans of the great navigator. He says that "Columbus might have known of the expeditions of the Northmen to Vinland or Drogeo quite well. All this information might not have appeared to him to be connected with his intentions. He searched the route to India and to the country of the spices."† I think the great German *savant* is not quite right in this. If his suggestion be true, we might well ask, why Columbus should have given himself the trouble of making an excursion to Ultima Thule. I think Columbus wished to know, whether our globe was really as large, and the ocean as broad, as cosmographers at this time made it; or if there were not some countries in the back-ground of the ocean very near, and accessible by an easy navigation; and, on this subject, the reports of the Icelanders might well have given him some light. If he only knew, and was able to prove to others, that the globe was small, the ocean not very broad, and that countries not far distant had been reported

hagen, who has favored my researches in a most kind and generous manner in many ways, and by the most acceptable services, has proved to me, in a letter, or essay on the visit of Columbus to Iceland, that in Copenhagen, among the learned of Denmark, nothing new has become known on this point, and that all the questions connected with it, rest, as before on mere probability.

* He adopts the opinion of Finn Magnussen. See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, p. 155.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, p. 370.

or indicated from the Canaries, from the Azores, from Ireland and from Iceland, then he might make his choice among the different routes, and explore that region and latitude, to which he thought his land of the spices to be nearest.

I think it, therefore, more correct to subscribe to the opinion of Finn Magnusen on this subject, who says: "If Columbus had been informed of the most important discoveries of the Northmen, it is much easier to understand his firm belief in the possibility of the rediscovery of a western country, and his great zeal in carrying it out; and we may conceive his subsequent discovery of America partly as a continuation and consequence of the transactions and achievements of the old Scandinavians." This Danish historian adds this philosophical remark: "Long ago we have known, that the fate of mankind often hangs on the finest threads, the direction of which the historian scarcely can follow and exhibit; but it is seldom that these threads, as in our case, can be observed after the lapse of three centuries."*

The results of this chapter for our particular object may be summed up thus:

1. The lively commerce and navigation between England and Iceland during the course of the fifteenth century, make it appear possible, that some English vessel may have been driven to the coasts of New England.

2. The pretended expedition of the Polish navigator, John Scolnus, in the year 1476, if it was ever made, did not approach the coast of New England.

3. Columbus may perhaps have received in Iceland information respecting the Northman expeditions to the south-west, and more particularly respecting those to Vinland and Dro-

* See Finn Magnusen, *Om de Engelskes Handel paa Island*, in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed*, 2 Bind, p. 166. Kiöbenhavn, 1833.

geo, under which names the territory of the State of Maine was included ; and, accordingly, the fame of these countries may have contributed something to the furtherance of the greatest event of modern times, the discovery of America by Columbus.

CHAPTER IV.

EXPEDITIONS OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT TO NORTH- EASTERN AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1497, 1498.

1. VOYAGE OF JOHN AND SEBASTIAN CABOT IN THE YEAR 1497.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS may be said to have given directly, as well as indirectly, an impulse to western discovery in all the nations and to all the sovereigns of Western Europe. In Italy, in Portugal, and in Spain, he agitated personally for his scheme of an expedition to the west, and made it known in those countries. To France and England he had sent his brother Bartholomew, who, in the year 1488, laid before Henry VII., of England, his brother's plan; made for the king a map of the world, to show which way his brother Christopher intended to sail;* and in this manner, for the first time, drew his attention to the distant parts of the western ocean. Cautious Henry, however, did not at once profit by the occasion then offered.

When Columbus, with the assistance of Ferdinand and Isabella, had succeeded in his enterprise, Henry no doubt felt regret, and might now have become eager to avail himself of any opportunity to partake of the profits, which Spain expected to derive from western discoveries. "At Henry's court," as we are informed by good authority, "there was great talke of the undertaking of Columbus,

* See on this map Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, p. 272. Berlin, 1852.

which was affirmed to be a thing more divine than humane; and this fame and report increased in the hearts of some of the king's subjects a great flame of desire to attempt something alike notable." *

The king's subjects, particularly the mariners and merchants of Bristol, had been long used to sail, as I have before related, to the north-west of the Atlantic, toward Iceland and its vicinity. It appears probable, as I have already remarked, that these Bristol men, on their expeditions to the north-west, yearly repeated, should have obtained information about other countries lying to the west and south-west of Iceland. We unhappily know nearly nothing of the old traditions of the merchants and seafaring men of Bristol. This much, however, is certain, that there were in this port persons interested in such voyages, mariners accustomed to perform them, and vessels fitted for the service. It was, therefore, quite natural, that expeditions to the north-west should have originated in that place, and have found persons there ready to promote and aid them.

Bristol, like other ports in the north of Europe had, among its inhabitants, Italian families; and they, particularly those from Venice, being the most enlightened and experienced merchants of the time, were the leading men of this, as of other commercial communities; and, like the old Venetian Zeni, of whom I have spoken above, put themselves at the head of all new maritime undertakings.

Among those Venetians at Bristol was a certain Giovanni Caboto (or Cabota), a merchant, who, with his three sons, we do not know exactly at what time, but probably before

* See Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. 1, fol. 374, Valencia, 1613, where Sebastian Cabot is introduced as relating this in a conversation with a gentleman of note (Galeazzo Bottrigari), the Pope's envoy in Spain.

1490, had migrated from Italy to England.* The said Caboto may have been among the first, "in whose hearts the fame and report of the successful undertaking of the Genoese Columbus increased a great flame of desire to undertake something alike notable." The Venetians and Genoese, from time immemorial, had been rivals; and a Genoese success would always create a Venetian jealousy; as, in the same manner at a later time, a French undertaking was always followed or accompanied by a similar English enterprise.

Among the three sons of John Cabot, the most prominent and talented was Sebastian, the second in age. From his early childhood this young man, like Columbus, had paid attention to the study of geography and navigation; and had, at an early age, already acquired "*some knowledge of the sphere*." He understood, by reason of the sphere, that if one should sail by way of the north-west, he would by a shorter track come to India, than that by which Columbus had sailed.† In short, Sebastian Cabot had a pretty good idea of the usefulness of what we, at present, call great circle-sailing. His father, John Cabot, had probably the same idea; nay, in this respect he may have been the instructor of his son. Probably both father and son, each talented and well instructed, worked out together their plan for a north-west passage, and for a route from England in the most direct line to "Kathay" and the oriental world.

The section of the great circle, or the most direct line from

* If it is true, as Eden says, that Sebastian Cabot, according to his own statement, was born in Bristol, his father must have been settled there before the year 1477, the probable time of his son's birth. [But Contarini, the Venetian ambassador at the Court of Charles V., says, that Sebastian Cabot told him that he was born in Venice; which other circumstances confirm.—ED.]

† This he is reported to have stated himself in the conversation mentioned in Ramusio, l. c.

England to China and Japan, the countries for which the Cabots planned their expedition,* would pass to the north of Norway, along the northern shore of Siberia, and through Behring's Strait into the Pacific Ocean. And so it appears, that the Cabots, if they had "understood the sphere" *quite* right, ought to have planned an expedition for a north-east, instead of a north-west passage, as they actually did. But we must here bear in mind, that the Cabots, like all their contemporaries, believed Asia to stretch much further toward the east than it really does. Even if they did not agree with Columbus in the belief, that "Espanola" (St. Domingo) was Japan, which may be doubted; still they must have hoped, that they might hit upon Kathay, at least not *very* far from the longitude of the islands discovered by Columbus, where Martin Behaim, on his globe, and probably also Bartholomew Columbus on his "map of the world, presented to King Henry," had laid them down, in about a central line of what we now call the Pacific Ocean. And to this region "a great circle," or the shortest route, conducts from England a little to the west of the North Pole; and a voyage to Iceland, and further in that direction, would not fall far out of their way. It was not until a long time after, about the middle of the sixteenth century, when it had been generally recognized and acknowledged, that China and the east of Asia lay much further south-west, that Sebastian Cabot proposed and tried a north-eastern passage, very reasonably thinking, that Kathay might be much sooner reached by the Siberian route.

If the Cabots, through their Icelandic connections, had heard any thing of countries lying to the south-west of Iceland, this may have attracted them still more to the north-

* That, from the beginning of their expedition, they had Kathay (Northern China) in view, is said by Sebastian Cabot himself in Ramusio, l. c.

west. For, either they must have believed that these countries, once known to the Northmen, were already a part of the Indies and Kathay; or, at least, that being islands, they might serve as intermediate stations on the route to those countries, according to the views which had induced Toscanelli to point out to Columbus the islands of "Antilia," "St. Brendan," and others, and to recommend them to him as stations for reposing and refitting on his long voyage to the Indies.

Before laying their scheme of a north-western voyage to Kathay before Henry VII., the Cabots appear to have induced their Bristol friends to make some preliminary voyages to the west, or some attempts to find out new countries in that direction. "The people of Bristol have for the last seven years," says Don Pedro de Ayala, a Spanish envoy in England, in a letter to his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, dated July 25, 1498, "sent out every year two, three, or four light ships (*caravelas*) in search of the islands of Brazil and the Seven Cities, according to the fancy of that Italian (John Cabot)."* The "seven years," literally taken, would carry us back beyond the time of the first voyage of Columbus in 1492. But the Spanish envoy probably did not intend to fix his date very accurately, and we may, therefore, suppose, that he only meant to say "a number of years ago." The islands of the Seven Cities and of Brazil were probably depicted on the map which Bartholomew Columbus presented to Henry in 1488, in the same manner that they had been *before* on the map of Toscanelli, and *afterwards* on the map of Behaim. They may, therefore, after 1488, have been a subject of conversation in England; and it is not improbable,

* See this recently discovered letter, deciphered and translated by G. A. Bergenroth, printed in his *Calendar of Spanish State Papers*, vol. 1, p. 177, and copied in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Oct. 21, 1865, p. 25. Cambridge, 1866.

that John Cabot may have induced the Bristol men to make a search after them; as the Portuguese, after having heard the views of Columbus, made an unsuccessful search in a western direction.

Some learned geographers have even thought, that the Cabots themselves made such a preliminary voyage to the new world as early as in the year 1494; and that, on this voyage, and not as is usually supposed on that of 1497, they first discovered the shores of the North American continent. They were induced to think so, principally, by a certain map of the world, which has been ascribed to Sebastian Cabot; which has been recently found in Germany; and which gives the above-mentioned year as the date of the great discovery.

This map of the world, according to an inscription contained on it, was engraved in the year 1544. It is a compilation of all the discoveries made up to that year, and of the then current geography of the entire world. It contains very few hints on the original discoveries of the Cabots. I shall treat of this map and examine it, after having spoken of the subsequent discoveries in the first half of the sixteenth century. I will then state the reasons why I do not think very highly of this document, and bring forward all my doubts about this so-called discovery of the continent of America, in the year 1494.* I will only state now that I have not been able to convince myself of the reality of such a voyage, and that I omit it altogether.

It was in the year 1495, that the Cabots laid their great scheme of a north-western expedition to Kathay before King Henry, who readily gave his assent to their plan, and, in their favor, issued a patent and commission dated March 5, 1496.

This patent gave permission to John Cabot and his three

* See Appendage 4 to Chapter IX. of this volume.

sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, to sail with five ships, "under the royal banners and ensigns to all parts, countries, and seas of the east, of the west, and of the north, and to seek out and discover whatsoever isles, countries, regions, and provinces, in what part of the world soever they might be, which before this time had been unknown to Christians." The king gave them further license "to set up the royal banners and ensigns in the countries, places, or mainland newly found by them, and to conquer, occupy, and possess them, as his vassals and lieutenants." *

This patent, of the contents of which we give here only what may be called the naval instructions with respect to the route and aim of the voyage, is drawn in the most vague and general terms. We find in it no allusion whatever to Kathay or a north-west passage. Of all the regions of the world to which the voyage might be directed, the south only is excluded; probably because it was considered as belonging already to Spain and Portugal, and therefore closed by them to English discoverers. The north, west, and east are mentioned. That the north and west were particularly intended, we learn from the statements of Sebastian Cabot himself, that a voyage to Kathay by a northern route, was his and his father's, and probably also the king's intention.

According to this patent, the patentees had to arm and furnish their vessels, to buy victuals, and to provide all other things necessary for the expedition at their own cost. Henry granted them nothing but his royal authority and protection, and a passport to foreign powers.

This was probably the reason that they were not able to make use of the royal permission of March, 1496, until the

* See this patent in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, edited by the Hakluyt Society, p. 19. London, 1860. [It is in Latin, and is also copied by Hazard, "Historical Collections," vol. 1, p. 9.—ED.]

year 1497. To raise the necessary funds, to fit out their vessels, to procure the goods which would be suitable for the market in Kathay, with which country they hoped to commence a profitable traffic, detained them for more than a year.

At last they sailed from Bristol in the spring of 1497. And as all the best authorities on this voyage say that they were only a little more than three months absent, and make them return in the beginning of August, their departure must have taken place in the early part of May.

It is said by some authorities, that *at the outset* they had four vessels, and that one of them was called the "Matthew," being the Admiral's ship, having the commander on board. How many of these ships accompanied the expedition *to the end*, is not clear; at any rate, the "Matthew" was the vessel which first touched our American shores, and the only one, as far as is known, which returned in safety to Bristol.

There can be no doubt that the commander of the expedition was John Cabot, the father; and that, consequently, to him is due the discovery of the continent of North America effected on this voyage. In the grant from the king above quoted, John Cabot is the principal patentee; the sons are mentioned only collectively, and as subordinate companions of the father. Another patent was granted by the king in the year following the voyage of 1497, and is exclusively directed to John Cabot. It asserts quite clearly, "that he, by the commandment of the king, had found the new-discovered lands." Notwithstanding this direct evidence, a modern writer, Mr. Biddle (in a work very ingenious, but somewhat too subtle and acute, where he makes the son Sebastian his favorite and hero), for certain reasons has tried to render it doubtful, whether John Cabot commanded this expedition, or even accompanied it. In this he has followed the authority of some early writers, and has given the command, with the

whole success and honor of the undertaking, to the young son, Sebastian.* That John Cabot had come to England "to follow the trade of merchandise," can be no decisive objection against his venturing to conduct a naval expedition in person, and of course with the assistance of expert pilots and mariners. We know very little of John Cabot's former life. He may have been a merchant, and yet an expert navigator. At all times, particularly in that of the Cabots, both occupations were followed by the same individuals. Before the sixteenth century, it was usual for merchants to accompany or conduct their own commercial expeditions. Amerigo Vespucci was a clerk in a mercantile house, and also a great traveler, and a cosmographer and astronomer. In Spain and Portugal, merchants, licentiates, graduates of the Universities, and doctors, became not only sailors and discoverers, but also military and naval commanders and conquerors.

Sebastian Cabot, the son, whom this author has endeavored to substitute in the place of the father, was, at the beginning of the year 1497, when the expedition sailed, perhaps only nineteen, or at most, twenty years old, having been born, according to Humboldt, in the year 1477.† At this period of his life he may have been an "enthusiastic geographer," but certainly he cannot have been an experienced and "accomplished"‡ navigator, fit for the command of a fleet. There is probably no case on record, of a young man of nineteen or twenty years having been put at once at the head of an important expedition of discovery to unknown and far distant regions, particularly by a king like Henry VII, who was no enthusiast, and who is described as having been "of a wary, cautious, most circumspective, and quiete disposition."

* See Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 42 seq. London, 1832.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, p. 445.

‡ So he is called at this period of his life by Biddle, l. c. p. 51.

That in later times, several Spanish and other authors should sometimes have overlooked the father, John, and that all merit should have been given to the son, Sebastian, is easily accounted for. The father disappeared—probably died—soon after his return from this expedition. But the son lived for more than sixty years afterwards, became a celebrated navigator and cosmographer, and altogether an important person, employed in the service of the kings of England and Spain. His fame in this manner eclipsed that of his father, and the results and merits of the whole expedition were, by several old historians, attributed wholly to him, whilst the father, John, was forgotten, particularly in Spain, where he never had been present.*

*[The following extract from the Sforza archives of Milan, under date of 1487, confirms Dr. Kohl's view on this subject. "News received this morning from England by letters dated the 24th of August." . . . "Also some months ago, his Majesty sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner (John Cabot), and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having, likewise, discovered the Seven Cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage."

The letter of Pasqualigo, found in the archives of Venice, dated August 23, 1497, also furnishes direct evidence of this fact; after speaking of his return from the great discovery, he says: "The king has given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then" (the next spring), "and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also Venetian, and with his sons; his name is Zuan Cabot, who is styled the Great Admiral," etc. This letter is dated London, 23d August, 1497, and is written in Italian. These documents would seem to put at rest the questions both of the *command* and the *time* of this first expedition of discovery. Yet it is suprising, that Hakluyt, who was almost a contemporary of Sebastian Cabot, having been born five or six years before Cabot's death, and who was familiar with the leading adventurers and discoverers of the day, and probably better acquainted with the various voyages which had been undertaken than any other man of his time, should have persisted to the last in asserting, that the first Cabot voyage was performed in 1496, and by Sebastian Cabot. In his recently discovered and unpublished treatise of 1584, in which he vehemently appeals to the English government to engage in colonization, he

Of the other persons, pilots, masters of vessels, and other members of this expedition, we hear scarcely anything with certainty, though we might gather some names as probably belonging to persons who went with the Cabots. Among them there may have been many Bristol mariners, acquainted with the navigation of the Northern Ocean, at least as far as the seas of Iceland. The Cabots would probably have tried to attract into their service also, some Portuguese and Spanish sailors, accustomed to the navigation of the Atlantic Ocean.

Relative to the course which the Cabots followed on this voyage we have no definite information. Sebastian Cabot appears to have written the events of this voyage, as well as of the other voyages performed during his long life ; but unhappily these precious writings are lost to us. How they disappeared is uncertain.* With respect to all the particulars of the voyages of the Cabots we are, therefore, left to probabilities and to a few scattered hints and notices.

From the intention which the Cabots had to follow as near as possible the shortest line from England to Cathay, that is to say, a line which passed near the North Pole, we should think, that, in starting from England, they would have sailed in nearly a northern direction. If they knew nothing of

more than once affirms, that the first discovery was made in 1496, and by *Sebastian Cabot*. He says, "A great part of the continent, as well as of the islands, was first discovered for the King of England, by *Sebastian Gabote*, an Englishman, born in Bristow, son of *John Gabote*, in 1496." Again he says, "Nay, more, *Gabote* discovered this large tract of firme land two years before *Columbus* ever saw any part of the continent. . . . *Columbus* first saw the firme lande August 1, 1498, but *Gabote* made his great discovery in 1496." The very interesting and instructive *Ms. of Hakluyt*, above referred to, which was brought to light early in 1868, through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Woods, a member of the Maine Historical Society, then making researches in Europe, will be printed, for the first time, in a volume of this Society's Transactions, next succeeding the present, within a few months.—ED.]

* See upon this point, *Biddle's Memoir*, p. 221.

Greenland and of the great ice-barrier along the "*Mare congelatum*," we should expect to find them on the old beaten track of the Bristol men to Iceland, or even on a direct line to the Pole. But, probably, the Bristol men, and also the Cabots who had conversed with them, were sufficiently acquainted with the dangers of the ice surrounding Iceland and the Pole. It is not less probable, that, from their long intercourse with the Northmen and Icelanders, they knew something of that great ice-locked east coast of Greenland, which, as a long barrier, lies stretched out to the north-west and south-west of Iceland; and that it would be useless to try that way for a passage to Asia. The Icelanders may have acquainted them with their old "*Gunningagap*," that broad passage at the south and west of Greenland, which we call Davis' Strait. It is for these reasons, no doubt, that we do not find the Cabots exactly on the shortest northern route to Cathay, but much to the west of it; on the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador; for it was on the coast of one of these countries, certainly, that their first landfall was made.

In former times it was usually supposed, that the Cabots made their landfall near some cape of the island of Newfoundland. But nearly the whole of Newfoundland is in a much more southern latitude than Bristol. And if their landfall had been made there, they either could not have taken from Bristol a north-western route, as it was their intention to do, or they must have been driven from this route by northerly winds very much to the south. This is one of the reasons which should induce us to expect a more northern point for the first landfall of the Cabots.

In the examination of this question, Mr. Biddle* has come to the conclusion, that this landfall of the Cabots on the coast of the North American continent, or what they called their

* See Biddle's Memoir, p. 52 seq.

"Prima vista" (the first country seen), must be found on the coast of Labrador in 56° or 58° north latitude. In this latitude he thinks the Cabots for the first time came in sight of the continent of North America, on the 24th of June, 1497. And after him, Baron Humboldt and several other distinguished authors have adopted this latitude for Cabot's landfall.

In an inscription contained on an old map of the world, engraved in the year 1549, the authorship of which is ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, the country surrounding this landfall is described as being very sterile, but full of wild animals, and particularly having an abundance of white bears.* These white bears of the country, as Sebastian Cabot himself once told his Spanish friend, Peter Martyr, used to catch with their paws the fish, which were their favorite food.† The white bears, consequently, were quite at home in the country which the Cabots saw on the 24th of June, 1497. This agrees much better with the coast of Labrador than with that of Newfoundland, to which the white bears very seldom, if ever, come down.

Just as unfavorable a description of the country of their landfall is given in the above-quoted letter of the Venetian Pasqualigo, where it is said, that the Cabots did not meet any human being in the country which they discovered in 1497. This could certainly happen only on the coast of Labrador, thinly inhabited by Esquimaux, and not in any of the more southern countries.

Moreover, the author of the above-quoted map of the world, supposed to have been Sebastian Cabot, says in an inscription, that he and his father found an island opposite the

* See this inscription, amongst others, printed in *Nathanis Chytræi Variorum Itinerum Deliciæ*, p. 787. Herbornæ, 1594.

† See Peter Martyr, *De orbe Novo*, p. 533. Parisiis, 1557.

country of their landfall, to which they gave the name St. John, in consideration of the name of the saint, on whose day it was discovered. We find on several old maps, for instance, on that of the famous Belgian geographer, Ortelius, of the year 1570, depicted in this latitude an island called "St. John's" (or S. Juan). Ortelius says, that he had seen an engraved map of the world, made by Cabot, and he may have taken that island from this map.

All these considerations incline us to believe, that Biddle and Humboldt and their followers were right in putting down the first landfall of the Cabots, and their "prima vista" on the coast of Labrador in the high latitude of about 56° or 58° N.

Against this view has been brought forward, as a decisive testimony, that map of the world, engraved in the year 1544, ascribed to Sebastian Cabot, which was lately discovered in Germany, of which I have already stated, that it contained, instead of the year 1497, the year 1494, as the date of the first discovery. This map gives for the landfall, instead of the coast of Labrador, a much more southern country, namely, the coast of Cape Breton Island; and, moreover, makes Cabot's "Island St. John" to be our present Prince Edward Island. I shall examine this point and the other contents of that map after I have spoken of the subsequent discoveries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. I will only state here, that I am not satisfied with the correctness of the position given on this map to the "Prima Vista." With respect to my reasons for this view, I refer the reader to my essay on this map, which he will find in Appendage No. 4 to Chapter IX., of this volume.

Whether the Cabots, from their landfall on the coast of Labrador in 1497, sailed still further north, and how far, we do not know. We are also uncertain on the question, how

far from their landfall they went to the south. We hear only, that they sailed along the coast about three hundred leagues.* As they had intended to sail to the north-west, and had turned their backs on the south, we should be inclined to measure these "three hundred leagues," for the greater part at least, along the coast of Labrador north of their landfall. Some part of it, however, may be located to the south of their landfall, along the southern coast of Labrador and Newfoundland, in sight of which they may have come on their homeward route, after having been baffled by ice in the north. It appears to me probable, however, that the principal discovery of the island of Newfoundland by the Cabots was *not* made on this first voyage, but on the second expedition, in 1498, hereafter considered.

Having come in sight of land in the far west, which they believed to be a part of Eastern Asia, having seen more water in the north, and having ascertained, at least for some distance, the trending of the coast, they were eager to bring this interesting news, as quickly as possible, home to England. The little vessel, the "Matthew," arrived in Bristol on some day in the early part of August, 1497.†

2. VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN CABOT IN 1498.

John Cabot, on his return in the month of August, 1497, was received in England with great joy, because he was said to have discovered "the island of the Seven Cities," and

* This is said in the letter of L. Pasqualigo, l. c.

† This becomes pretty certain, at first, from an entry in the privy-purse accounts of Henry VII, which is dated "August 10, 1497," and in which the king says, "that he has given a reward of ten pounds to hym, that found the new Isle;" and, secondly, from the above-quoted letter of the Venetian Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who, under the date, "London, 23d August, 1497," announces to his brothers in Venice the return of John Cabot from his voyage of discovery.

“the country of the Great Chan” (the emperor of China), or, at least, a part of it; and this was probably, also, the opinion of the Cabots themselves.*

Henry himself was also filled with hope and confidence; and issued, in favor of John Cabot, another patent or license, dated February 3, 1498, in which he gave him permission to take, at his pleasure, in the king's name, six English vessels, in any port of the realm of England, “and them convey and lead to the land and iles, of late found by the said John in our name and by our commandment; paying for them and every of them, as and if we should, in our own cause pay, and none otherwise.”† The son of John Cabot, Sebastian, is not mentioned in this patent, as he had been in that of 1496. Yet he alone profited by it. For the father is not again mentioned in connection with the voyage; for what reason, is not disclosed. It is supposed that he died soon after the grant was made.

Sebastian was now, if Humboldt's supposition is true that he was born in 1477, a young man of about twenty or twenty-one years of age. And as he had become proficient in astronomy and mathematics, and had gained naval experience in the voyage he had made in company with his father; and as he knew better than any one else his father's views, and also the position of the newly discovered regions, he may now have well appeared to Henry, as a fit person for the command of another expedition to the north-west.

Two ships, manned with three hundred mariners and volunteers, were ready for him early in the spring of 1498; and he sailed with them from Bristol, probably in the beginning of the month of May.

* See this described in the above-quoted letter of Lorenzo Pasqualigo, l. c. p. 20.

† See the patent in Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 76.

We have no certain information regarding his route. But he appears to have directed his course again to the country which he had seen the year before on the voyage with his father, our present Labrador.* He sailed along the coast of this country so far north, that, even in the month of July, he encountered much ice. Observing, at the same time, to his great displeasure, that the coast was trending to the east,† he resolved to give up a further advance to the north, and returned in a southern direction.

The northern latitude which Cabot had now reached, has been put down variously in the different notices of this voyage. In Ramusio, *the latitude 56° north* is given. But this cannot be true, because it is said in the same passage of Ramusio which mentions this latitude, that Cabot, finding in the highest latitude reached by him the coast turning to the east, in despair changed his course to the south; and because we now know, that in the said latitude of 56° N., the coast of Labrador does not turn toward the east.

The Spanish historian, Gomara, a contemporary of Cabot, and living with him in Spain, and who, consequently, may have known him personally, says that the ice encountered by Cabot in the month of July, and which hindered him from sailing further north, occurred in 58° north latitude. "Cabot himself," adds Gomara, "says that it was much more."‡

As "Cabot himself" is a much better authority on the point in question, than the incredulous Gomara, we must

* See the report which Sebastian Cabot himself communicated in a conversation with Peter Martyr, *De Orbe novo*, p. 232. Parisiis, 1587. See also Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, tom. 1, fol. 374. Venetiis, 1613.

† This turning of the coast to the east, is mentioned in Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 374, as having been observed on Cabot's expedition in the year 1498.

‡ See Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20, l. c. Saragossa, 1553.

think that he reached a higher latitude than 58° N., even according to Gomara's own statement.

The Portuguese Galvano, also one of the original and contemporary authorities on Cabot's voyage of 1498, says, that having reached 60° north latitude, he and his men found the air very cold, and great islands of ice, and from thence putting about and finding the land to turn eastward, they trended along by it, to see if it passed on the other side. Then they sailed back again to the south.* From this report of Galvano it appears, that he believed that Cabot sailed much beyond 60° north latitude, and also along a tract of country toward the east.

As Cabot in 1498, without doubt, sailed along the coast of Labrador and the western shores of Davis' Strait, and as we have there no other long turn-off coast to the east beyond 60° north latitude, but the great peninsula of Cumberland, it becomes very probable, from Galvano, that he reached the shores of this peninsula in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude, and that, despairing of finding a passage, he there turned to the south. In adopting this opinion, which was also that of Humboldt,† we suppose that Cabot must have overlooked the comparatively narrow entrance of Hudson's Strait, or that he found it obstructed by ice.

In his encounter and struggle with the ice in this high latitude he probably lost a great part of his men;‡ and his crew may have been opposed to a further advance toward the north, though the young commander himself appears to have

* See this in Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World*, edited by the Hakluyt Society, p. 88. London, 1601.

† See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 2, page 447. Berlin, 1852

‡ See upon this point D'Avezac in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Août et Septembre, 1857, p. 276.

been disposed to continue still further the search in that direction.*

From this northern terminus Cabot retraced his course southerly along the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland. At Newfoundland, he probably came to anchor in some port, and refreshed his men, and refitted his vessels after their arctic hardships. The harbors of Newfoundland have always been stations of refuge and for the refitting of vessels coming from the north. Perhaps Cabot had seen, on the voyage with his father, the abundance of fish on these coasts, which was so great, that the ships were said to have been stopped by their numberless swarms. He probably was the first fisherman on the banks or shores of Newfoundland, which through him became famous in Europe.

Sailing from Newfoundland south-west, he kept the coast in view as much as possible, on his right side, "always with the intent to find a passage and open water to India."†

The more he proceeded to the south, the more he deviated from his "shortest way" along the North Pole. But, having been baffled in the north, he probably thought, that even a longer way to the Indies would be better than no way at all. It is not likely, that, having failed to find this passage in the high north, he would have returned at once, in despair, to England. According to his notions of the configuration of the shores and countries in the western recesses of the ocean, he was, no doubt, convinced, that sailing south he would very

* See upon this Ramusio in his preface to the third volume of his great work (Edit. Venetia, 1556), fol. 4, where he appears to me to speak of this voyage made at the command of Henry VII, in 1498, though others have believed, that he speaks of some other voyage.

† Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 374, Venetia, 1613, where Cabot himself is made to say, "me ne tornai à dietro à riconoscere anchora à la detta costa dalla parte verso l' equinottiale, sempre con intentione di trovar passaggio alle Indie."

soon find water broadly opening toward China. Such open waters were depicted on all the globes and maps which Cabot would have consulted, on the maps of Toscanelli, Bartholomew Columbus, Behaim, and other geographers. Neither Cabot nor any one else, at that time, had the slightest expectation of meeting, on a western route, an immense continent other than that of Asia. He expected, at every stage, to see the end of Newfoundland, and to find, not merely a narrow strait, but the vast Western Ocean itself. This, perhaps, was the reason, that, on this coasting voyage, he appears not to have taken notice of the comparatively narrow entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. If he observed something of it, he may not have thought it worth his while to explore it, expecting to find a more open passage further south.

After having sailed along the south-east of Newfoundland, and passed the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he must have come in sight of the coast of Nova Scotia. At the south-eastern end of this peninsula he would see the coast abruptly falling off to the west and north-west; and, of course, must have followed this trending of the shore-line in the direction of his intended route. It is, therefore, very probable, that he entered with good hope the broad Gulf of Maine, and came to and sailed along its coast.

The entire elevated coast of Maine is seen at a great distance from the ocean. This view, no doubt, convinced him, that there could be no broad water in that direction. He therefore passed speedily on, losing no time in minute exploration. We must always keep in mind, that a detailed examination could not have entered into the designs of Cabot. In his expectation of finding a broad ocean to the west, such as was portrayed on the maps of his time, he, of course, must have been disposed to neglect narrower inlets, and even such as were only moderately broad. As long as he saw the con-

tinuous line of coast, he went onward further to the south-west, quite sure that the great ocean, presented on the maps as lying eastward of China, must soon make its appearance.

It is, however, probable, that, in the southern parts of the Gulf of Maine, he approached the coast somewhat nearer, because they are there lower, and, from a distance, not so easily recognized as being land-locked. Thus he may have been caught in this *cul de sac* of Cape Cod Bay, entering it for the purpose of looking for a passage. But he was beaten back by the shores, turning round to the east, and was forced to circumnavigate the long hook of the cape. The hopes, with which he had been filled at the south-eastern extremity of Nova Scotia (Cape Sable), were now lowered again, and that disagreeable hook of Cape Cod, of so unusual a shape, must have impressed itself on his memory, and been delineated on his chart. In the Appendage to this chapter, where I shall give what has come down to us of Cabot's chart, and examine it, I shall have occasion to point out upon it certain coast-lines which appear to me to represent Cape Cod and the Gulf of Maine, and, consequently, to support the view, that Cabot visited both these objects of the coast and reconnoitered them; an opinion which I think I have made somewhat probable.

After having rounded Cape Cod, he must have felt fresh hope. He saw a coast running to the west and open water before him in that direction. It is therefore nearly certain, that he entered somewhat that broad gulf, in the interior corner of which lies the harbor of New York. I say "somewhat;" for it is not at all necessary to suppose, that Cabot made a thorough search of this gulf, to convince himself of its being land-locked. The soundings were sufficient to make this known to him. The soundings in that gulf and along the whole coast to the south of New York, are very low. At

a distance of a hundred miles from the coast, they begin to decrease from sixty fathoms to twenty and ten, and still less. Cabot, of course, was constantly sounding; the sounding-lead at that time being one of the principal instruments for detecting the approach to land. They would enter this gulf only so far as it was necessary for them to be convinced, that the coast was near. The question, therefore, which has been raised, whether Cabot saw any thing of New York harbor,* cannot be answered with any degree of certainty.

From a statement contained in the work of Peter Martyr it appears, however, certain, that Cabot landed on some places of the coast along which he sailed. This author, relating a conversation which he had with his friend Cabot, on the subject of his voyage of 1498, says, that Cabot told him "he had found, on most of the places, copper or brass among the aborigines" (*orichalcum in plerisque locis se vidisse apud incolas praedicat*).† From another authority we learn, that he captured some of these aborigines and brought them to England, where they lived and were seen a few years after his return, by the English chronicler, Robert Fabyan.‡ It is not stated at what place he captured those Indians; but it was not customary with the navigators of that time to take on board the Indians, until near the time of their leaving the country. Cabot's Indians, therefore, were probably captured on some shore south of New York harbor. At all events, from both the statements alluded to, it becomes highly probable, that this great discoverer put his feet on the shores of the present United States, which, in several respects, it is not uninteresting to know.

* For instance, by Rev. Mr. Miller in his discourse on the discovery of New York harbor in *New York Historical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 23.

† Peter Martyr, *De orbe Novo*, Dec. 3, cap. 6.

‡ See the quotation from Fabyan's chronicle in Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 31, Ed. London, 1810.

When beyond the vicinity of New York Cabot saw the coast taking a more southern turn, and holding on in this direction, his hopes for a large and distant run to the west, must have entirely vanished; and his provisions also falling short, and apprehending that he was approaching the Spanish possessions, he now entered on his homeward voyage.

The southern terminus of his voyage is pretty well ascertained. He himself informed his friend, Peter Martyr, that he went as far south as about the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar,* that is to say, about 36° north latitude, which is near that of Cape Hatteras.

Peter Martyr adds the following: "He sailed so far to the west, that he had the island of Cuba on his left hand, nearly in the same degree of longitude." This additional remark, some authors have interpreted as if he had intended to correct himself, and to add, that Cabot had sailed along the entire coast of the United States down to Cape Florida; where, at last, he had the island of Cuba quite near to his larboard side. But it is evident, that neither Peter Martyr nor Cabot intended by this statement to determine anything about his latitude. That was fixed at the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar. Cuba was mentioned only to determine the longitude. The east coast of North America, in 36° north latitude, is in about the longitude of the eastern part of the island of Cuba; and a navigator, who sails along that coast with the idea of penetrating to the west, may well say, that he had the island of Cuba on the left,—but, of course, at a great distance.

At the time Cabot made the above statement to Peter Martyr, which was before the year 1515,† the island of Cuba

* See Peter Martyr, l. c.

† Peter Martyr's record of his conversation with Cabot was written in 1515; but the conversation itself must have taken place before, between 1512 and 1515.

was the only place north of Hispaniola (St. Domingo) and the other West Indian islands, of which the position was known with certainty. It was therefore natural for Cabot, to use this island in order to make his longitude intelligible. It was the more natural, because Cabot, in the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar, must have thought himself much nearer to the island of Cuba than he really was. At the time of his voyage—and even much later—that island was laid down on the charts several degrees too far north.

From this I consider it clear, that Cabot saw nothing of our coast to the south of Cape Hatteras.

On the direction of his homeward track from the shores of the United States to England, the short original reports of his voyage state nothing. The nearest route to England was running on the same track on which he had come out, that is to say, back along the coasts of New York, New England, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. And, according to what we have stated above on his knowledge of the globe, and the shortest route by great circle-sailing, we should be inclined to think, that he returned by this route, and came again in sight of the New England coast. It is however possible, that, like the greater part of the navigators of his time, he may have followed a more southern track by the Azores.

On their return from their first voyage of 1497, the Cabots believed, that they had discovered portions of Asia, and so proclaimed it. But the more extensive discoveries of the second voyage corrected the views of Sebastian, and revealed to him nothing but a wild and barbarous coast stretching through thirty degrees of latitude, from $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 36° . The discovery of this impassable barrier across his passage to Cathay, as he often complained, was a sore displeasure to him. Instead of the rich possessions of China, which he hoped to reach, he was arrested by a New found land, savage and

uncultivated. A spirited German author, Dr. G. M. Asher, in his life of Henry Hudson, published in London in 1860, observes: "The displeasure of Cabot involves the scientific discovery of a new world. He was the first to recognize, that a new and unknown continent was lying, as one vast barrier, between Western Europe and Eastern Asia."

Still, a long time after Cabot, geographers represented on their maps Newfoundland, Labrador, and the neighboring territory, as parts of Northern Asia. But Cabot, on the first chart of his discoveries, which has been preserved to us by a Spanish cosmographer, represented the entire eastern coast of North America as a separate and independent continent, entirely distinct from Asia.

The scientific results of Cabot's voyage consequently were very great, though they could not be appreciated at once by all his contemporaries.

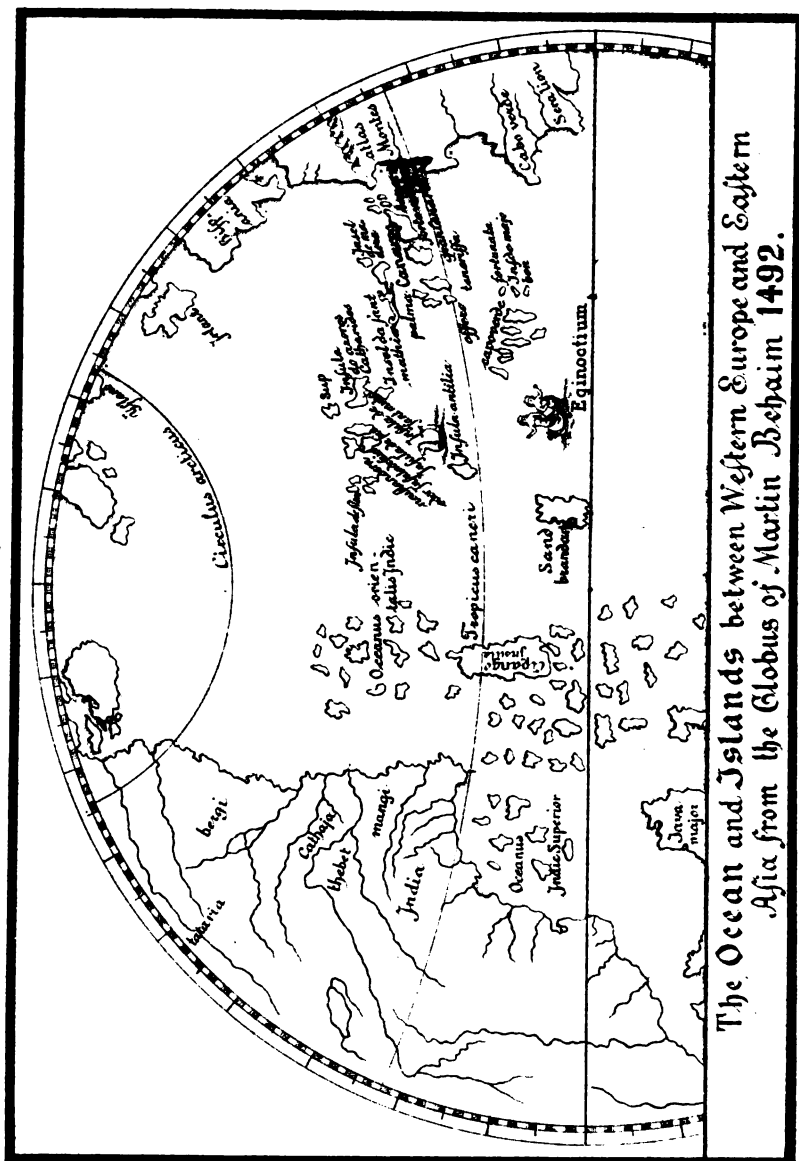
The more practical, pecuniary, and commercial gains of the expedition were not so attractive as the merchants of Bristol and the covetous Henry had expected: it was probably for this reason, principally, that when Cabot made proposals in the following year, 1499, for another expedition to the same regions, he was supported neither by the king nor the merchants.* For several years the scheme for the discovery of a north-western route to Cathay, was not much favored in England.

Nevertheless, the voyage of this gifted and enterprising youth along the entire coast of the present United States, nay, along the whole extent of that great continent, in which now the English race and language prevail and flourish, has

* Nevertheless, some authors believe that he made in that year another voyage of discovery, which, however, is said to have been directed to the tropical regions. The scattered hints which we have on this expedition of 1499, have been collected in Biddle's Memoir, p. 91 seq.

always been considered as the true beginning, the foundation and corner-stone of all the English claims and possessions in the northern half of America. English flags were the first which were planted along those shores, and English men were the first of modern Europeans, who with their own eyes surveyed the border of that great assemblage of countries, in which they were destined to become so prominent; and were also the first to put their feet upon it. The history of each one of that chain of States, stretching along the western shores of the Atlantic, begins with Sebastian Cabot, and his expedition of 1498. And this is especially true of the State of Maine, and the other States of New England; whose remarkable coasts were particularly observed by him, and clearly delineated on his chart, as I shall endeavor to show in my examination of Cosa's map.

Nº IV.



APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER IV.

1. ON THE MAP, NO. 4, OF THE OCEAN AND ISLANDS BETWEEN WESTERN EUROPE AND EASTERN ASIA, FROM THE GLOBE OF MARTIN BEHAIM, 1492.*

MARTIN BEHAIM, a well-known German astronomer and cosmographer, was born in Nuremburg in the year 1459, and in 1479 went from there to Lisbon, where several of his countrymen were settled. Being a scholar of the celebrated German astronomer and mathematician, Regiomontanus, he soon made himself known among the Portuguese for his cosmographical and mathematical knowledge, and was made, by John II, of Portugal, a member of a commission for improving marine instruments. In the year 1488, he constructed upon the principle of his master, Regiomontanus, a new astrolabium, which was adopted by this commission and introduced into the Portuguese navy. The Portuguese navigators were enabled, by this instrument, to find their latitude with much more accuracy than before.

Behaim himself, in company with the Portuguese discoverers, made extensive voyages along the coast of Africa and to the Azores, where he married a Portuguese lady of Flemish extraction. In all these and other respects his life was similar to that of Columbus, with whom he became personally acquainted in Lisbon. He shared the views of Columbus on the feasibility of a passage from Portugal to India on a western route, and on the short distance between Western Europe and Eastern Asia. He did not, however, make this voyage; but in the glorious year 1492, the German cosmographer, being on a visit to his friends in Nuremburg, constructed the celebrated globe, on which he clearly proved, that it was possible to do, what the more enterprising Italian meanwhile *did*.

* See upon this globe and upon Behaim, the work: F. W. Ghillany, *Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*. Nurnberg, 1853.

This globe, on which the entire world and all its then known parts and islands were depicted, is highly interesting to us, because we see represented upon it the views and ideas of Behaim, which were also more or less those of Toscanelli, Columbus, Cabot, and all their intelligent and well-informed contemporaries.

In map No. 4, I have given from that globe only the portion which most interests us here; namely, the western coasts of Europe and Northern Africa, the eastern coast of Asia, and the ocean and islands between them. With respect to the configuration of these coasts and islands, and the distances between them, our copy is a reduced facsimile, from the copy of the globe in the above-quoted work of Ghillany, though not in the handwriting, names, and inscriptions. The original has many names in Asia and Africa, which I have left out as not connected with our subject. I have retained nearly all those of the islands as important; but have omitted the long German inscriptions or legends added to them, of which I shall speak, however, as occasion may require.

In the north-east of our representation appears "Island" (Iceland), under the arctic circle. To the south of it, in the same meridian, "Irland" (Ireland) and "Hispania" (Spain). In Africa I have preserved only the names "Atlas Montes" (Mount Atlas), "Cabo verde" (Cape Verde), and "Sera lion" (Sierra Leone).

From the coasts of Africa and Spain to the west, stretch out several chains and groups of islands, as the Canaries, the Cape Verde, and the Azores, which had long been known to European navigators, and the greater number of which have the names inscribed, by which they are known to-day. The Azores stand out far to the west,—the last of them, "Insula de flores," nearly midway between Europe and Asia.

At the south-west of the Azores, we find the two famous and often mentioned islands, which, after the fourteenth century, were supposed to exist in the most western parts of the ocean, one called "Antilia," and the other "Saint Brandan."*

Of the first island Behaim says: "In the year 734, after the conquest of Spain by the Mahometans, this island, Antilia, was discovered and settled by an archbishop from Oporto in Portugal, who fled to it in ships with six other bishops and other Christian men and women. They built there seven towns, from which circumstance it has also been called 'septemcitade' (the island of the seven cities). In the year 1414, a Spanish vessel came very near to it."

* The French geographer, M. D'Avezac, has written an excellent article "on the fabulous islands of the Atlantic Ocean in the middle ages." See his "*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 1, 2. 1846.

Regarding the second island, Behaim adds the following: "After the birth of our Saviour, in the year 565, Saint Brandan, an Irish bishop, arrived with his vessel on this island; saw there most wonderful things, and returned afterwards to his country."

It is well known that these and similar stories of voyages and emigrations, made to distant islands in the far west of the ocean, were often told in the middle ages. All these stories came from Portugal, Spain, Ireland, and Great Britain,—the European nations which were afterwards so prominent and active in the discovery and settlement of America. The islands of St. Brandan and Antilja were also depicted on charts of the fourteenth century. Some time after the discovery of the West India Islands by Columbus, the old name "Antilia," which according to Humboldt is of Arabic origin, was applied to them. The island of St. Brandan was believed to exist a long time after the discovery of America by Columbus, and many expeditions were made even in the seventeenth century, from the Canaries and the Cape Verde Islands, for the purpose of finding it.

Some hundred leagues to the west of St. Brandan's Island, Behaim puts down the large island of "Cipangu," or Japan, of which Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, had spoken, as being rich, and as lying not far from China to the east. Behaim gives to it about the latitude of Cuba and Hispaniola. Columbus, therefore, when he arrived at this latter island, thought it to be Japan.

Cipangu, or Japan, is surrounded by an ocean full of innumerable islands. The Arabs, probably ever since the time of Sindbad the Navigator, were somewhat acquainted with the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago and of the western half of the Pacific; and these Arabian traditions may have been depicted and alluded to here.*

The eastern coast of Asia is drawn on our map in the same manner, as we see it on many previous maps, according to the notions and reports of Marco Polo. It is the coast along which Columbus, and after him John and Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, and many other navigators thought they were sailing, whilst they were really sailing along the coast of America.

We find here indicated the great rivers of China, and the names, "India," "mangi," "Cathaia," "thebet," "tataria," "bergi."

The name "India" was at once applied to the American discoveries, believed to be a part of the continent of Asia; and the name is still

* On Sindbad, the Arabian navigator, and on the notions and information of the Arabs about the islands and waters at the east of Asia, a treatise has been written by Baron Walckenaer in *Nouvelles Annales des voyages*, tom. 1, p. 14 seq. 1832.

given to the central region, called the *West Indies*; and the aborigines are still called *Indians*.

"Mangi" is the name of a Chinese province spoken of by Marco Polo, and looked for by Columbus, when he was sailing along the coasts of Honduras and Central America.

"Cathaia" is the old name of Northern China, which for a long period was the object of very many expeditions for the discovery of a so-called North-western Passage.

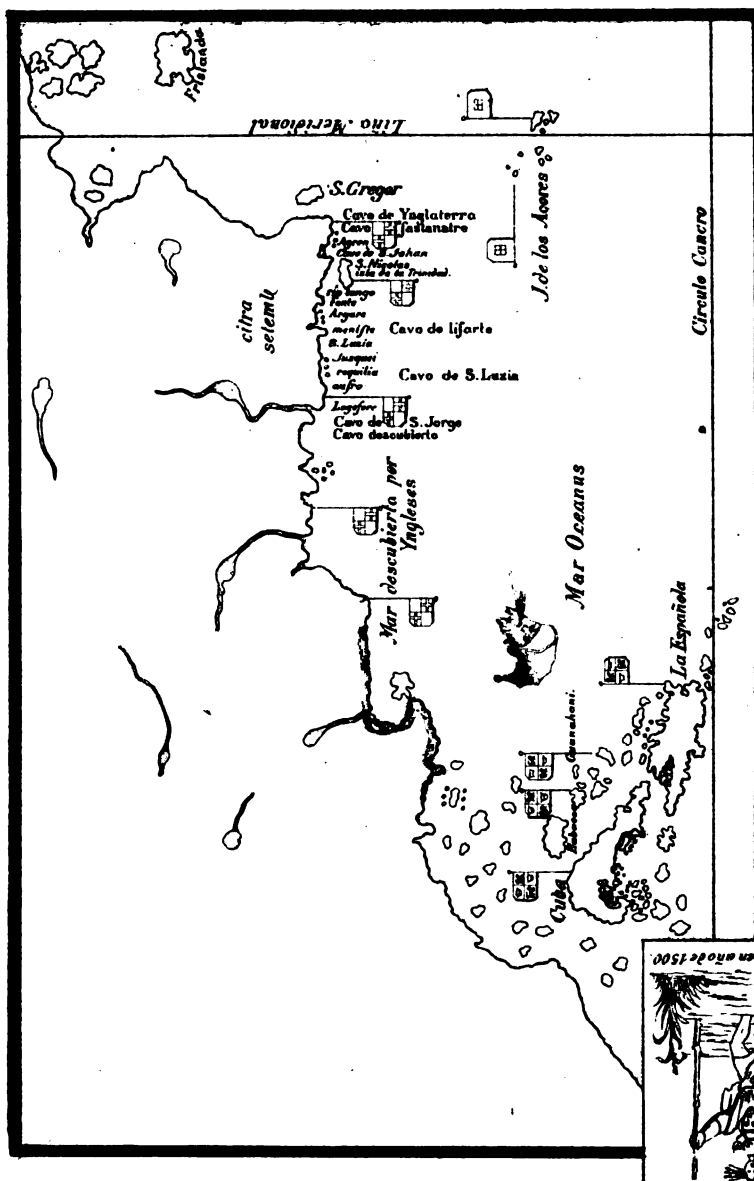
The name "tataria," also placed on our map, often finds a place in the subsequent explorations of America. So long as America was thought to be a part of Asia, or connected with it, the North American Indians were thought to be Tartars.

Besides the names which I have put down on our copy, Behaim in his original had many others; and also many decorative inscriptions and legends, nearly all of which were taken from the work of Marco Polo.

Already, in the year 1474, the distinguished and learned Italian astronomer, Toscanelli, had sent to Columbus a map of the world constructed by him, and a letter explaining this map. That interesting map has not been preserved; but we have the letter.* From the description of the map contained in this letter, it appears that it was very similar to the globe of Behaim; having the same islands, the same configuration of the coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and about the same dimensions and proportions of the ocean. It is said that Columbus, on his first voyage, had Toscanelli's map on board, and sailed by it. He, probably, on one or more of the numerous maps which he composed, had followed the same principles and represented similar things. Of these maps of Columbus not a single one has been preserved. The globe which Behaim composed in Nuremburg is the only original map which has come down to us, giving us the notions of Toscanelli, of Christopher Columbus, of his brother, Bartholomew Columbus, and their fellow voyagers on the ocean between Europe and Asia.† The Cabots very probably had a similar map on board, when in 1497 they sailed to find the shortest course to Cathay. A copy of it should be added to every work treating on the discovery of America. I have, therefore, given it a place at the end of my chapter on the first voyage of the Cabots.

* See it in Navarette, *Collection de los viages y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 2, p. 1. Madrid, 1823. Compare what Humboldt says on the map of Toscanelli in his *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1, pp. 206-208.

† M. D'Avesac calls this globe "une copie ou une reminiscence de la carte de Toscanelli" (a copy or reminiscence of the chart of Toscanelli). See D'Avesac, l. c. p. 52.



The East-Coast of North-America by Juan de la Cosa in the year 1500.

2. ON THE MAP, No. 5, OF THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,
BY JUAN DE LA COSA, IN THE YEAR 1500.*

Juan de la Cosa was a celebrated Spanish navigator, and one of the first discoverers of the West Indies. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to the west, in the years 1493-1496. He afterwards commanded several exploring expeditions to America, and took his share in the discovery and conquest of the northern coast of South America, Venezuela and New Granada. He had so much experience of the west and of the ocean, that he boasted "that he knew more of them than the Admiral (Columbus) himself." The early historians of America speak of him with high esteem.

Cosa, like other explorers, probably drew several charts of the new countries he visited, which, like many other drafts, are lost to us. In the year 1500, he compiled a large map of the entire world, on which he laid down all that he knew of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the new world. This map, of which probably several copies were made, appears, like its author, to have been highly esteemed by the Spaniards. One of these copies was hung up in the study of the then minister of Marine, Juan de Fonseca. It was afterwards, like most of the old maps, neglected and forgotten.

In the year 1832, the great German scholar, Humboldt, being occupied with his researches on the history and geography of America, during the time of the cholera in Paris, found, in the excellent library of his friend, Baron Walckenaer, a large map of the world, which the learned owner thought to be an old Portuguese production, Humboldt, however, discovered on it the inscription, "Juan de la Cosa la fixo en el Puerto de Sta Maria en año de 1500" (Juan de la Cosa made it in the port of Saint Mary in the year 1500). There was no doubt, that the very first map, on which a great part of the western continent was depicted, had now been brought to light.†

The whole map, as well as parts of it, have been repeatedly copied and published. Lelewel gave a reduced copy in his *Atlas*, No. 41. Sagra, in his work on Cuba, and Humboldt, in his "*Examen Critique*," gave sections of it. He communicated also a reduced copy to Dr. Ghillany, who embodied it in his work on Martin Behaim. The map was

* See on this map, 1. J. Lelewel, *Geographie du moyen age*, tom. 2, p. 109 seq. Bruxelles, 1852. 2. A. Von Humboldt, in the work, "F. W. Ghillany, Geschichte des Seefahrers Martin Behaim," p. 1 seq. Nurnberg, 1853, and the work there quoted on Cuba by Sagra.

† See Humboldt's introductory remarks to Ghillany's work on Behaim, p. 1 seq.

again copied by the great French geographer, M. Jomard, who published a perfect fac-simile of it in his "Monuments de Géographie." So the map has now become well known, and is generally acknowledged to be one of the most interesting and important documents for the geographical history of America.

Our reduced copy of that part of Cosa's map which represents the northern half of the new world, was principally made after Humboldt's copy. I have, however, added a few names which Humboldt omitted, and which I find in Jomard's fac-simile.¹

The map has no indication of the degrees of latitude. It has, however, the equator and the "circulo cancro" (the tropic of cancer $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.), which enables us to recognize the latitudes of the several objects represented on the map.

Cosa draws the entire east coast of North America, from the neighborhood of Cuba to the high northern regions, in about 70° N., with a continuous line, uninterrupted by water. He appears to have thought, that there was a large continental part of the world, back of the West India Islands discovered by Columbus and his contemporaries.

Before the year 1500, no Spanish navigator had been along that coast. The only exploring expeditions made to it, were those of the English under John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 and 1498; and Cosa must have had his information for this part of his map from English originals. He indicates this himself by the broad inscription running along the coast: "Mar descubierto por Ingleses" (Sea discovered by the English).

The true general trending of the east coast of North America, from Florida to Newfoundland, is from south-east to north-west. Cosa, on his map, makes it *nearly* in the same direction; but he extends it more east and west, which is a consequence of the projection of his map being a plane chart, having the degrees of longitude uniform throughout.

Cosa's coast-line in the higher latitudes, opposite "Frislanda" (Iceland), has some similarity with the coast-line on the recently discovered map (see map No. 20), said to have been made by Sebastian Cabot in the year 1544. This is a remarkable circumstance. For it would seem to prove, that Sebastian Cabot had seen those arctic regions in 1498, and not at a later date, in 1517, as Mr. Biddle and some others have supposed. The easternmost point and peninsula of Newfoundland is easily recognized on Cosa's map, and agrees with the true configuration of this coast-line. He has also given a pretty long list of names upon the southern coast of the island.

These circumstances convince me, that Cosa made his chart of our

east coast, not in a fanciful and rough manner from general reports of sailors or the companions of the Cabots, as they may have been current in the harbors of Spain, after Cabot's voyage; but that in drawing his line, he must have had before him some copy of the chart, made by the Cabots themselves.*

There is no difficulty in supposing, that a copy of the chart of Cabot may have been seen by Cosa in 1500. Some of the companions of the Cabots may have been Spaniards, and have returned before 1500, to the ports of their native country, carrying with them, not only reports, but also charts of the voyage. The Spanish Envoy then at the English court, Don Pedro de Ayala, in a letter to his king, dated July 25, 1498, also tells us, that he saw the chart, made by Juan Cabot on his first voyage, and that he intended to send a copy of it to his Spanish Majesty.†

This Spanish envoy may also have been careful to send to Spain afterwards, a copy of the chart of the second Cabotian expedition, on which the southern section of our east coast was discovered; and this copy may have been used by Cosa for his map.

This proves that the headlands, bays, peninsulas, and other objects represented on the map, are not made at random, but are sketches of such projections of the coast as the Cabots supposed themselves to have seen, and attempted to delineate, and are therefore worthy of a critical examination.

The best starting-point is given at the eastern cape of the coast, called "Cavo de Ynglaterra" (Cape of England), in about 50° N. Though this is not exactly the latitude of Cape Race, which stands in about 46½° N., still there can be scarcely a doubt, that this cape is meant. The latitudes on our map, including those of the West India Islands, are much too high.

The configuration given to "the Cape of England" and its vicinity, has a striking resemblance to the configuration of Cape Race and the entire south-eastern section, or triangle, of Newfoundland; and I may add, that on all subsequent maps, this region has always been represented in great harmony with nature. Newfoundland, and more especially Cape Race, which was usually the first point of America seen by the early European navigators, and the part best known to them, and

* See Lelewel, l. c., tom. 2, p. 110, who says with respect to this map: "One sees from Cosa's map, that he was not a mere copyist, but a compositor, and a distinguished compositor and draftsman, who worked with *great exactness*."

† See this letter printed in the "Calendar of the Spanish Archives," edited by Bergenroth, vol. 1, p. 177; and also in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the annual meeting held in Worcester, Oct. 21, 1865, p. 26.

whose light-house is still the first object sighted by our steamers as they approach the coast, is also, as it were, the regulating light for the examination of all old maps of the east coast.

From this map it appears probable, that the Cabots, on their discoveries, gave to this remarkable point the name of "the Cape of England;" and they probably did this from the circumstance, that it is the nearest point of America toward England. For a similar reason, we may suppose, that on subsequent maps of the Portuguese, probably drawn by the Cortereals, it is named "the Cape of Portugal," as being the nearest point to that country.

From "Cavo de Ynglaterra" (Cape Race), the map represents the coast-line as running for a long way east and west, which I consider to be the south coast of Newfoundland, which runs in the same direction.* Here the map is embellished with several English flags, and has names, which Cosa probably found on his English copy, and which he translated into Spanish, as "Cavo de lisarte" (Cape Lizard), "Cavo de S. Johann" (Cape St. John), etc. Some of these names are found on subsequent maps; but, as they relate to Newfoundland, do not require particular examination here.

The list of names ends in the west with a flag-staff, and near to it "Cavo de S. Jorge" (S. George's Cape), and "Cavo descubierta" (the discovered cape). To the west of "Cavo descubierta" comes a broad gulf, though, instead of such a gulf, we should expect to find the far projecting peninsula of Nova Scotia. For several hundred miles to the west, the coast-line of Cosa's map offers no resemblance whatever to the coast-line of our present maps.

But soon after the inscription, "Mar descubierta por Yngleses," and to the west of it, Cosa draws a bay, which looks very much like the Gulf of Maine. It has about the same size and semicircular shape, and is surrounded in the south by a projecting promontory, offering the form of a horn, by which, I think, Cape Cod is intended, for the following reasons:

* Baron Humboldt (in Ghillany's work on Behalm, p. 2) thinks, to my great astonishment, that here, the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is meant, and that "the Cape of England," consequently, is not Cape Race, but some headland near the Strait of Belle Isle. The small island, called on our map (after Jomard's copy) "S. Gregor," to which Humboldt gives the name "Isla verde," he thinks is Newfoundland. This view is too much in opposition to all that I have stated above. And, moreover, I have never found one of the names given on our map, on any of the old maps of the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while several of them, for instance that of "St. John," occur again on many maps of the south coast of Newfoundland.

Cape Cod is the most prominent and characteristic point on the entire east coast, from Nova Scotia to Florida. Between Cape Race and Florida it has nearly a central position. It has the longitude of St. Domingo ("La Española"), and the latitude of about 42° N. It has a horn-like shape, and makes the figure of a ship's nose, and was therefore called, by the Northmen, "Kialarnes" (Cape Ship-nose). This description applies as well to the nameless cape, which we are here considering; and in which, I think, I have discovered the first indication, ever given on a modern map, of the Gulf of Maine, of Cape Cod, and the peninsula of New England.

Cape Cod could hardly have escaped the observation of Sebastian Cabot, during his sail along our coast in 1498. His only predecessors here were the Northmen in former centuries, who, like Cabot, sailing along the coast into the Gulf of Maine from the north-east, by Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, to their Vinland, were also arrested by this conspicuous cape.

That the distance from Cape Race to the supposed Cape Cod, on our map, appears much longer than the distance from this to Cuba, is easily explained by two circumstances:

1. Cabot, in 1498, did not come very much to the south of Cape Cod. If he was not stopped by this cape altogether, and turned away by Nantucket Shoals and the Gulf-stream, he did not, at all events, pass beyond the latitude of 36° or 38° N. There, he thought himself to be very near the Spanish possessions. The distance which he actually traversed may have appeared to him greater than the rest of the coast, from a constant expectation of finding an end to it. The remainder of the continental coast on the north and west of Cuba not having been actually surveyed by Cabot, its representation on the map may have been put down by Cabot or Cosa on conjecture.

2. From the fact, that the chart of Cosa is a plane chart, with an old-fashioned projection, according to which the coasts in northern latitudes are drawn out much more from west to east, it becomes evident, that on our map the more northern half of the east coast, from Cape Cod to Cape Race, must appear much larger and longer than the southern half, from Cape Cod to the West India Islands. The island seen on our map off the horn-like cape, may be Nantucket Island, though this lies a little more to the south of Cape Cod.

3. CHART, No. 6, OF THE NEW WORLD, BY JOHANN RUYSCH, 1508.

The map, of which we here give that portion relating to the present work, was composed by a distinguished German traveler and geographer "Johann Ruysch."* It was published in the edition of Ptolemy's geography, printed at Rome in 1508. The text and explanatory notes, added to this map in that work, were composed by Marco Beneventura, an Italian monk.

It is the first *engraved* map on which any parts of the new world, particularly of North America, were depicted. The supposed latitudes and longitudes from Ferro are accurately expressed.

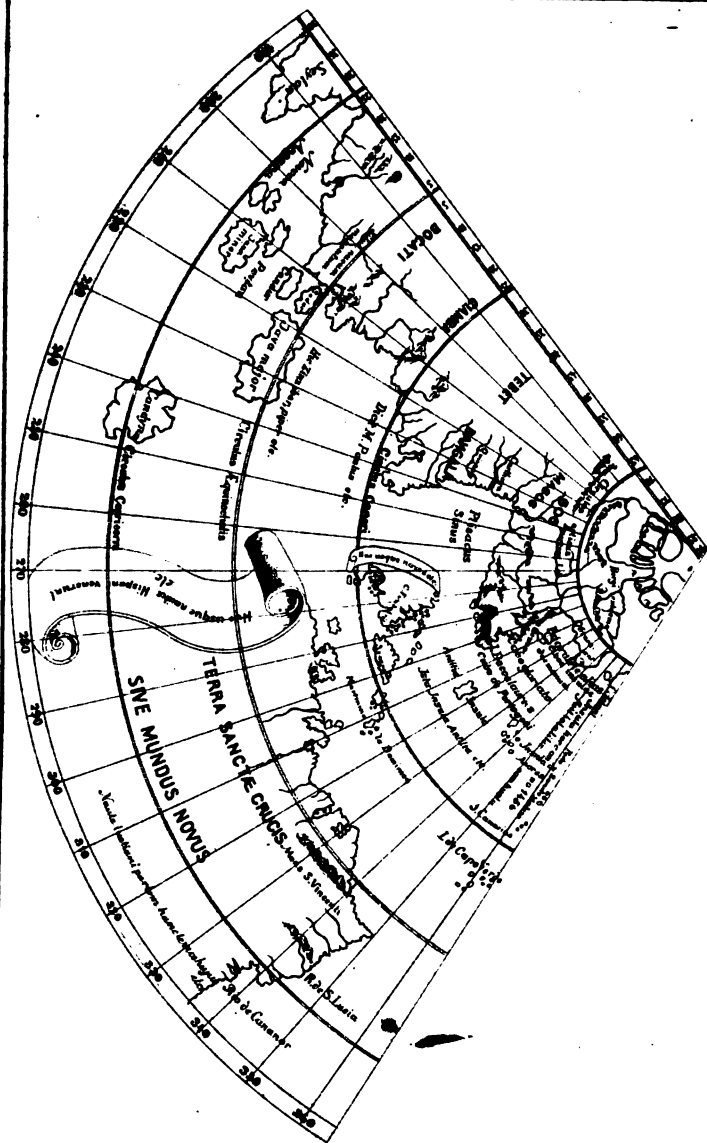
The map represents parts of Asia, North America, the West India Islands, and South America; all scattered around the ocean in large and small insular or peninsular tracts of country. In accordance with the views prevailing soon after the discovery by Columbus, several parts of North America (of which the magnitude was as yet generally unknown, although it had been exhibited by Cabot and Cosa) are here represented as sections of Eastern Asia.

South America, whose broad extent was first recognized, is here treated by itself, as a large independent continent. It is called "Terra Sanctæ Crucis, sive mundus novus" (the country of the Holy Cross;† or, the New World).

I omit here what the author, Ruysch, observes on this new world (South America). He gives its northern coast as far as the Isthmus of Panama, and from there he has open water. Of the west coast of this same "country of the Holy Cross," he confesses, in his inscription, that he knows nothing: "Huc usque nautæ Hispani venerunt," etc. (so far came the Spanish navigators). On the north of South America, some of the West India Islands are laid down, and, more particularly, "Spagnola" (S. Domingo). It is well known that Columbus, when he discovered this large and beautiful island, thought it to be the far-famed Zipangu (Japan), mentioned and highly praised by the Venetian, Marco Polo. On this point, the author of our map has a long Latin inscription on the coast of China, beginning with: "Dicit Marcus Paulus;" namely, Marco Polo states, that "here should be placed the island of 'Zipangu' (Japan); but that he (Ruysch) omitted it, because he

* He is called by a contemporary, "Geographorum peritissimus ac in pingendo orbi diligentissimus" (the most expert geographer and very skillful in depicting the globe). Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 137, says, that he accompanied some exploring expeditions undertaken from England to the North.

† A name given by Cabral, 1499, to the coast of Brazil.



thought the island of Spañola (S. Domingo), discovered by the Spaniards, was the old 'Zipangu.'

The island of Cuba, west of Spañola, is the part of our map the most misrepresented. It is not described as an island, but as a peninsula projecting from a larger country, apparently North America. It is well known that Columbus, in 1494, sailed along the southern coast of Cuba; but before reaching its western end, became discouraged and retraced his course, affirming that Cuba was *not* an island, but a part of a larger country. And, though others were of a different opinion, and though Juan de la Cosa, in 1500, had already depicted Cuba as an island, yet our author, Ruysch, adhered to the view of Columbus; and represents Cuba, like Florida, as a part of a large northern country; which, however, he thinks to be near to China. The west of this country, he says, was unknown to the Spaniards, as was the west of South America. He states this in an inscription, beginning with "Huc usque naves," etc. (so far the vessels).

On the west of Cuba a large gulf is depicted, extending to the north of Asia, and named "Plisacus Sinus;" of which I do not know what to think.

In the high north, we find Greenlandt (Greenland), and at the southern end of it, Cape Farewell, under its true latitude, 60° N. The configuration of Greenland, as a long, broad, triangular peninsula, is also well represented. Greenland and Cape Farewell are, as I have already noticed, on all the former maps among the best-defined localities. The old northern descriptions and maps of this country had been, since the middle ages, in the hands of many geographers; and though it was sometimes attached to Europe, and sometimes, as on our map, to Asia, we consider it as the first, and best known, and best drawn section of America.

Near Greenland, on the north-east, we find on the original of our map the following most remarkable inscription: "Here the compass of the ships does not hold, and the ships which contain iron cannot return." * This, as Humboldt observes,† is a proof that the old navigators (Cabot, Cortereal), before the year 1508, had made some observations on the action of the magnetic needle in these parts, and had some notion of the vicinity of the magnetic pole; the position of which has been better defined in modern times.

"Island" (Iceland) appears in its true position, at the east of Greenland. At the south-west of Greenland, the configuration and outlines

* On our copy I have not repeated this inscription.

† See Humboldt in Gilliany, Geschichte des Martin Behaim, p. 4.

of Newfoundland are easily recognized. Newfoundland, on all of the old maps is, after Greenland, the best-defined part of North America. Copies of the charts of Cabot, or the Cortereals, or of the Frenchman, Jean Denys de Honfleur, who is said to have made, in 1506, an excellent map of Newfoundland, may have been brought to Rome, and been used by the author of our map.

Newfoundland is called "Terra nova." We find on its eastern coast the names of places often repeated; as "Cabo Glaciato," the little island of Bacallaos, called on our map, "Baccalauras, and Cape Race, to which is affixed the name of "C. de Portogesi" (Cape of the Portuguese).

Between the shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, is a great gulf, called "Sinus Gruenlanticus" (the Gulf of Greenland), evidently an indication of the entrance of Davis' Strait.

The south coast of Terra nova, which, like Cape Race, has its true latitude about 46° N., runs for some distance east and west. Then comes a pretty broad and long inlet, probably the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and at the west of this, a square-shaped headland, or peninsula, by which Cape Breton and Nova Scotia may have been intended.

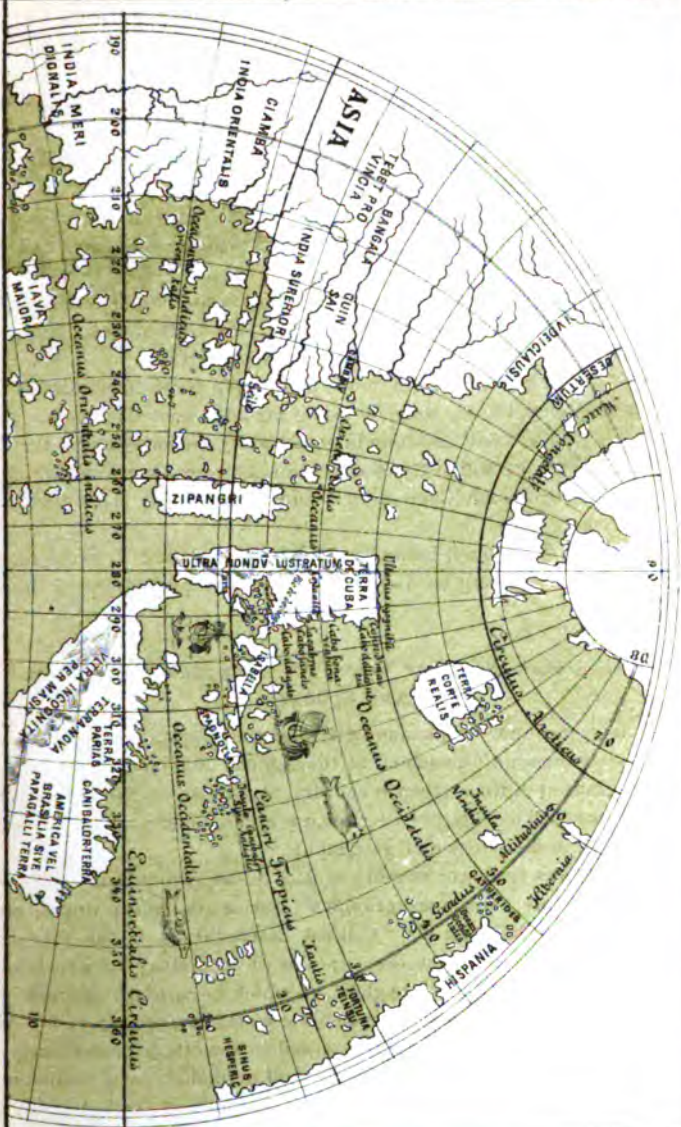
All these, Greenland, Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, are attached on the map to Asia, as sections and projections of the old world.

4. ON A MAP, NO. 7, OF NORTH AMERICA FROM THE GLOBE OF JOHANN SCHONER, 1520.

Johann Schoner* was one of the learned German mathematicians and astronomers of the school of the famous Regiomontanus, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, assembled in Nuremberg, and there exercised by their writings, maps, and globes a great influence on American discovery and geography.

Schoner was professor of mathematics in the gymnasium at Nuremberg, and wrote several geographical and astronomical works, often quoted by Humboldt in his "Critical Researches." In the year 1520, upon the invitation and at the expense of a wealthy friend, Johann Seyler, he constructed a large globe, on which he carefully laid down the configuration of the several parts of the world, according to his conceptions. This globe is still preserved in the city of Nuremberg. It was for the first time copied, printed, and published in a planisphere by Dr. F. W. Ghillany, State librarian of Nuremberg, in 1853, in his ex-

* Sometimes erroneously written "Schoener."



North-America from the Globe of Johann Schöner 1520.

cellent work on Martin Behaim. It was accompanied by introductory remarks by Humboldt; who has also incidentally treated of this globe in several places of his great work, "Critical Researches." After this the globe of Schoner was repeatedly copied in other works; for instance, in Lelewel's History of the Geography of the Middle Ages, and thus became better known.

I give here, after Ghillany's fac-simile, a reduced copy of the section of this globe, relating to North America. I have, however, left out several names and inscriptions contained in the original; and only retained those which have appeared to me as having an interest for the subject of our work:

There are in Germany several other globes, which depict the world nearly in the same manner as this. One is preserved in the city of Frankfort on the Main, with the same date, 1520, which has been reproduced in a fac-simile copy by M. Jomard, in his "Monuments de la Géographie." Another is preserved in the collection of the grand duke of Weimar. All these globes give to North and South America the same configuration and position, as they have on the map of Schoner. Baron Humboldt thinks, that they all have a common origin, and that they are, with respect to America, copies of an older chart, "hidden perhaps in the Archives of Italy or Spain."*

I cannot exhibit here the whole contents of this interesting map; but I will examine the principal points which relate to our main subject. In comparing this draft with Behaim's map (see map No. 4), I may call attention to the manner, in which some of the discoverers and cosmographers of the age of Columbus endeavored to combine the new discoveries in this hitherto unknown world, with the notions which had previously prevailed of the space intervening between Europe and Africa on one side, and the eastern ends of Asia on the other. They had filled this great interval with innumerable islands, of which some had long been known, as the Canaries, Azores, and Cape Verde; others had been mentioned by Marco Polo and his successors, as Zippangu (Japan); and others were more or less imaginary or mythical, as "Antilia" and "St. Brandan." After the first discovery of America by Columbus, they conceived of all the new countries as belonging to some of those groups, lying in the waters of Asia; and so they gave to these sections of America, seen by Columbus, Cabral, Cortereal, and others, as diminutive a figure as possible, to make them appear as islands. Therefore, in their historical and geographical reports and treatises on America, they gave to them the names of "the new isl-

* See Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1, p. 307.

ands," "the new-discovered islands," and the like. And on their maps they crowded these "new islands" into the groups of the old ones, which they did not like to leave off their charts.

Some, however, took a different view, and represented these regions as peninsulas and headlands of Asia, as was shown on the map of Ruysch (No. 6). As further light broke in, some cosmographers changed their opinions, as did Schoner, who having represented North America on the globe of 1520, as a large and independent island, makes it, in a later work, a peninsula of Asia, as did Ruysch.

On the globe we are now examining, Schoner breaks up America into as many islands as possible. At first he puts down the Antilles, circumnavigated as they had already been, by Columbus and his successors. Then he represents South America as a very large island, to which he applies several names: as "Terra nova" (the new country) and "America vel Brasilia sive Papagalli terra" (America or Brazil or the Parrots' country). The name "America" was applied by Schoner, as by nearly all his contemporaries, only to *South America*, the great theatre of the voyages and explorations of *Amerigo Vespucci*. North America was not comprised under the name until a later date.

"Terra nova," or South America, is separated from the northern island by a broad strait; the one for which Columbus, in his later voyages, made search. And notwithstanding the successors of Columbus had, prior to 1520, proved the Caribbean Sea to be shut in on the west, and the southern and northern countries to be connected by an isthmus; still Schoner and his Nuremberg contemporaries either did not know of the results of those explorations, or did not believe in them, and preferred to cherish the opinion, that there was still some passage here which had been overlooked. We have maps of a later date than 1520, on which ships are represented sailing through this Isthmus of Panama from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean.

The idea of Columbus, still retained on the map of Ruysch (No. 6), that Zipangu was nothing but the island "Española," was given up by Schoner. He has restored Japan to its proper place on the east of China, and has given to "Española" a separate existence and a more eastern position. Still he does not venture to make the distance between Japan and the newly discovered islands very great. He makes the "Eastern Ocean" * (the Pacific) very narrow, and puts Japan, as it was done for a long time after him, very near to North America.

He depicts North America as an island, not very broad, its greatest length extending from south to north. In its southern part he has the

* So called in respect to Asia.

name "Paria," which is here widely misplaced. To the northern part, he has given the name "Terra de Cuba" (the country of Cuba), which is apparently intended to be the general name of the whole region. It is well known that Columbus, hearing for the first time the name of "Cuba," believed that a very large country was meant by it, and that the land which he called "Isabella" (our present Cuba) was continental with it. He did not believe in the existence of the Bahama channel; and when, some time after (1508), this channel and the insularity of "Isabella" were clearly proved, some cosmographers, and Schoner among them, transferred the name of Cuba to the great country in the north.

Schoner, or his Spanish original, must have known something of the expeditions of Ponce de Leon to Florida in 1513, and of the first exploring voyages to the Gulf of Mexico; for he plainly depicts both the gulf and peninsula of Florida. To *Española* he gives nearly the true latitude. But he, as well as *Cosa* (No. 5), places "Isabella," our Cuba, several degrees too far north. The southern end of Florida is not far enough south, though the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico has its true latitude about 30° N.

The entire west coast of "Terra de Cuba" (North America) is drawn with uncertain lines as unknown, and is expressly so designated in the inscription upon it,—"*Ultra nondum illustratum*" (beyond this not yet explored). Our east coast, on the contrary, is depicted as high up as about 50° N., as already known and explored. Several capes, harbors, and gulfs are depicted on it, to which names are given. Beyond 50° N., the country is said not to be known, "*Ulterius incognitum*."

The names written upon our east coast appear to be of Spanish origin, though they are sometimes *Italianized*, or otherwise corrupted. The voyages, which were made between the time of Columbus and 1520 along our east coast, and upon which we are more or less informed, are those of Cabot, in 1498; of Ponce de Leon, not higher north than about 30° N., in 1513; of Antonio de Alaminos, sailing with the Gulf-stream along the coast of Florida, in 1519; and of Ayllon, as high as about 34° N., in 1520. In none of these expeditions, and the writings and charts belonging to them, do we find any of the names mentioned on our globe, or on the map of *Cosa*, or the other maps of America known to us before the year 1520. Nor do any of these names occur on subsequent maps of America, for instance, that of Ribero of 1529. They are all new and original. We can account for the use of these names only by supposing that they were the invention of the map-makers, or were given by some explorer whose chart is now unknown. That Schoner, the very learned professor of astronomy, who prepared his

globe for a wealthy and learned friend, and not for the market, invented such fantastic names, is quite out of the question. He, no doubt, as Humboldt suggests, copied from some original which he believed to be authentic and correct. The author of this Spanish original, whom we do not know, may have invented the names. And though some of them look like *corruptions*, still the greater part do not look like inventions. On the contrary, they appear to be such as a navigator might well have distributed on an unknown coast discovered by him. Such, for instance, are the following:

"Capo del gato" (the cape of the cat), "Cabo sancto" (the holy cape), "las cabras" (the goats), "Costa alta" (the high coast), etc. In one name a certain "Diego" is mentioned. "Rio de Don Diego" (the river of Don Diego). These do not seem fanciful. I do not believe that the Spanish, Italian, and German map-makers of the time of Columbus and soon after him, were in the habit of inventing new names. They gave them as they found them. A little later, when elegant maps were much sought after and became fashionable, and when great numbers were fabricated in Italy and elsewhere, unknown countries may sometimes have been embellished with merely fanciful names. It is probable that they were the work of some Spanish navigator, perhaps a private adventurer, whose name has not reached us: for, as Gomara says, "Of many discoverers and explorers of the Western Indies we have no memorial, particularly of those who sailed to the northern parts."*

The names run up as high as 50° N., which must probably be reckoned a few degrees lower; and where the names "Cosen d'mar," "Cabo delli contis," "C. bona ventura" occur, the neighborhood of New England would seem to be indicated.

Newfoundland, and probably also a part of Labrador appear upon our map as a large island, floating forsaken in the midst of the great northern ocean, under the name of "Terra Corterealis" (Cortereal's land), and separated from the rest of America by a very broad strait—an exaggeration of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is represented in the same manner on many early maps.

Schoner's globe thus truly indicates two great series of North American voyages and discoveries; of which, one was directed to the north-west, and, commencing with the Cabots, Cortereals, and their predecessors at Newfoundland and Labrador, by degrees came down to Canada and Nova Scotia; while the other series, commencing with Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Alaminos, Ayllon, and their successors in the

* Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20. Madrid, 1552.

south, advanced from the West India Islands by degrees toward the north, to Virginia and New England. Between these extreme points, there remained a more or less unknown region, which, on our globe, has been indicated by open water.

In depicting the east coast of Asia and the many islands there, including Japan and "Java major," our author follows Martin Behaim's globe which existed then as now, in Nuremburg. In fact, Schoner's globe may be considered as a new edition of Behaim, with the addition of the newly discovered islands. (See map No. 4.)

CHAPTER V.

EXPEDITIONS OF GASPAR AND MIGUEL DE CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-EASTERN COAST OF AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1500-1503.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Soon after the exploring expeditions of the Cabots, the flag of another nation of Western Europe appeared in our waters. The Portuguese, in the year 1500, entered the field of western discovery, and exercised an important influence on American history and geography, which continued a long time, and is still visible in several names given by them to certain localities on our coast, which have generally been adopted by subsequent voyagers and geographers.

The young king of Portugal, Emanuel, called the Great, or the Fortunate, after the death of his cousin, John I, had come to the throne in 1495. He was a talented, enterprising, and highly educated sovereign, in whose reign commerce, science, and the arts flourished in Portugal. Under him Portugal became the most powerful nation on the ocean, and the commercial center of Europe.

In 1497, he had sent out Vasco de Gama to circumnavigate Africa, and to reach the East Indies on that route. And, in the beginning of 1500, he had sent Pedro Alvarez Cabral on a similar expedition; who, on his way, touched the eastern parts of South America, discovered the coast of Brazil, and gained there for Portugal an extensive empire.

The Portuguese, having declined the proposal of Columbus in 1484, for a western voyage, were grievously disappointed

when the news arrived, that in 1493, sailing under the auspices of Spain, he had reached *Japan*, as he supposed he had, when he arrived at Hispaniola. Cut off from the east in that direction by the Spaniards; and aroused by the fear that some shorter way still might be found, by which he might be invaded in the new dominion, conquered for him in the east by Vasco de Gama in 1497; and, at the same time, inspired by the hope that he might himself succeed in his wish to find that shorter route, in the direction in which, as he well knew, it had been sought by the Cabots without success,—the new king Emanuel resolved, near the close of 1499, to send an expedition to the north-west. He therefore ordered two ships to be fitted out, and appointed Gaspar Cortereal, one of his able and accomplished officers, to the command. Cortereal's confidence of success was so great, that he offered to pay a part of the expenses; in consideration of which, the king offered him certain rights and privileges, and to make him governor of the countries he should discover.

The Cortereals were of a noble Portuguese family, of considerable influence. The father of Gaspar, John Vaz Cortereal, had, in 1464, been made hereditary governor of Terceira, as successor of the Flemish governor, Jacob of Bruges. Thus stationed in the midst of the ocean, on the largest of "the Western Islands," the family of the Cortereals became familiar with sea-voyages and oceanic enterprises. Some historians have even asserted, that the father, Vaz Cortereal, had himself made an expedition to the far west, and discovered, before Columbus, an island or country called Terra de Bacalhaos (the land of cod-fish). But for this claim there is no reliable evidence.* The Spanish historian Herrera, calls him "the discoverer of Terceira," which is

* See Biddle's Memoir, p. 286 seq.

not strictly true. Vaz Cortereal may have done much for the better exploration and settlement of the Azores, but they had been discovered before his time. Yet he may have been a great navigator, and his sons may have inherited from him, not only the government of Terceira, but also his taste for maritime enterprise.

2. FIRST VOYAGE OF GASPAR CORTEREAL IN THE YEAR 1500.

Gaspar Cortereal sailed from Lisbon in 1500 ; probably in the spring of that year. We have no authentic information in regard to the preliminary circumstances of this voyage, the causes which led to it, nor indeed of its plan, or of the royal instructions prescribed for it. But although the scattered reports concerning the expedition are silent as to its object, we cannot doubt that it was similar to that of the Cabots,—a discovery of the long-coveted passage to Cathay. Nothing else could have induced the Portuguese to go to the arctic regions. Nor have we any official report or journal of the voyage, or any chart prepared by the commander, although some charts remain, which are probably copies of one or more made by Cortereal.

He sailed from Lisbon on a western course to the Azores, where his elder brother, Vasqueanes, was governor, as successor to his father, and where he could easily make his final arrangements and complete his outfit for the voyage.*

By what chart he was guided we have no information ; but it is presumed, that he must have had or seen a sketch of Cabot's map, as it had reached Spain in 1499 ; and by this, he must have been attracted to the headland of "Cabo de Ynglatierra" (Cape Race) stretching far to the east. On one side of this conspicuous promontory, he could see the

See * Galvano, in "Discoveries of the World." Hakluyt, first ed., p. 97, says, "that he touched at Terceira."

coast, running first westerly, then southerly; and, on the other side, it was represented as running north toward unknown regions. Having such a map, or, at all events, having some similar information about the latitudes and longitudes of the countries seen by the Cabots, and their configuration, Cortereal would naturally steer for that prominent cape; and, avoiding the continuous and hopeless coast to the south, make directly for the coast to the north of "Cabo de Ynglatierra," which lay in his track and which he hoped might conduct to open water in the north: in this manner, he would arrive somewhere on the east coast of Newfoundland.

That his land-fall was *not* to the south of Cape Race and the St. Lawrence, on the coasts of Nova Scotia or New England, as Mr. Biddle has supposed,* is still more probable from the general direction of the winds and currents in the ocean he was crossing on his north-western course from the Azores. He passed through the broad eastern prolongation of the Gulf-stream, and through that part of the temperate zone in which westerly winds prevail. These westerly winds and currents would have the tendency to set him to

* [The subject of the land-fall of this voyage, and its general features, have received a very ample and critical discussion in the able and rare work of Richard Biddle, "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot," published anonymously in London and Philadelphia in 1831-32. This "Review of Maritime Discovery" did not receive the attention from the public it deserved. It came unheralded upon the world, at a time when general attention had not been turned to these inquiries. Mr. Biddle was born in Philadelphia in 1796, a brother of Nicholas Biddle, the famed President of the United States Bank in its contest with General Jackson. Mr. Biddle was eminent as an author and a jurist. His memoir of Cabot was the result of careful and laborious examination of original documents and the accounts of the early voyages, and freed from obscurity a subject which had been overshadowed by misapprehension and numerous errors. The work is now very rare; and has justly taken its place among the most valued authorities on the matters of which it treats. Mr. Biddle died in 1847.—ED.]

the east, and carry him away from the coasts of Nova Scotia and New England, even if he may, at first, have taken a more westerly course, which I think is improbable.

The exact latitude of Cortereal's land-fall is nowhere given. Some authors think, that it was at Conception Bay, and that he gave to it this name. Conception Bay is not far north of Cape Race, and from what has been said, may very probably have been the place which he first touched.

From his land-fall he sailed toward the north; how far, we do not know; and then discovered a country, which he is said to have indicated under the name of "Terra verde" (Greenland); probably the same country which has borne that name ever since the time of the Northmen.*

He came to a river, called by him "Rio nevado" (the snow river), which has been put on later maps, by different authors, as near the latitude of Hudson's Strait. Here he is represented to have been stopped by ice, and returned directly to Lisbon, after having revisited a harbor on the east coast of Newfoundland, to repair his ships and refresh his crew after their northern hardships. He arrived at Lisbon in the autumn of 1500,† the precise date we do not know; nor do we hear that on this first voyage he brought home Indians, or any products of the countries which he saw. He must, however, have judged the prospect favorable and promising; for he at once made arrangements for a second voyage to the same regions.

* This is made more probable from an inspection of the charts relating to Cortereal's voyage, Nos. 8, 9, 10 in the Appendix.

† I follow here, with respect to Cortereal's first voyage, in most points, the results of the research of Kunstmann, who has examined the Portuguese archives, and brought to light several new facts. See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 57. München, 1859.

3. GASPAR CORTEREAL'S SECOND VOYAGE IN THE YEAR 1501.

• On the 15th of May, 1501, Gaspar Cortereal left Lisbon again with two* ships, and sailed "in a west-north-west direction."† In this direction, "at a distance of about two thousand Italian miles" from Lisbon, he discovered land; and this, his second land-fall, must also have been on some part of the east coast of Newfoundland, north of Cape Race, to which a west-north-west course, at a distance of two thousand Italian miles, would conduct him. It could not, therefore, have been on the coasts of New England; for, being in the same latitude as Portugal, they could not be reached by a west-north-west course; and they are nearly three thousand miles, instead of two thousand, distant from Lisbon.

From this point Cortereal sailed along the coast, probably in a north-west direction, six or seven hundred Italian miles, without coming to the end of it. Nor was he able to reach again the northern country which he had seen the year before, and which he had called "Terra verde;" because the sea was more filled with ice than the year before. He, therefore, again turned to the south. On his return, he seized fifty-seven of the aborigines, men and boys, fifty of whom he took on board his own vessel, and seven he put in his consort.

These aborigines, captured according to the custom of the explorers of that day, are described, by an eye-witness who

* Kunstmann (l. c. p. 58) speaks of three vessels. I can find only two. So also, Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 331 seq.

† "Tra maestro e ponenti," says Pietro Pasqualigo, the Venitian envoy at the court of Portugal, who received his information from Cortereal's companions, and wrote to his family in Venice what he heard about the undertaking. See this letter, printed in Biddle's *Memoir*, p. 237 seq.

saw them in Lisbon, as tall, well built, and admirably fit for labor.* We infer from this statement, that they were not Esquimaux from the coast of Labrador, but Indians of the Micmac tribe, inhabitants of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The name of Labrador, though afterwards confined to a more northerly region inhabited by the Esquimaux, here includes a territory lying south of it.

One of the two ships of this expedition arrived at Lisbon, October 8, 1501; the other, with Cortereal himself and fifty of the captured natives, never returned.

What became of this gallant adventurer, and his large crew, is wholly unknown; no trace of them anywhere remains.

The commander and sailors of the second vessel reported, that they had seen, in the country which they had visited, abundant forests, well adapted for ship-building, large rivers, and the sea-coast well stocked with fish of various kinds, especially the cod-fish.

They brought home "a piece of a gilded sword, of Italian workmanship," and two silver ear-rings, which they had found in the possession of the aborigines. There can be scarcely a doubt, that these interesting objects had been left there by the Cabots, who, some years before, had visited the same region.

[NOTE.—We are indebted to Dr. Kohl for this new light from the Portuguese archives relative to the Cortereal voyages. Neither Mr. Biddle, Mr. Bancroft, nor subsequent writers on our country, nor even Humboldt, who have treated of the early voyages, have made the distinction here noted in the voyages of Gaspar Cortereal. They have spoken but of one voyage,

*The letter of the Venitian Pasqualigo. [Pasqualigo says, "They are of like color, stature, and aspect, and bear the greatest resemblance to the Gypsies." And again he says, "His serene Majesty contemplates deriving great advantage from the country, not only on account of the timber of which he has occasion, but of the inhabitants who are admirably calculated for labor, and are the best slaves I have ever seen."—ED.]

and derived their evidence from the letter of Pasqualigo, the Venitian ambassador at Lisbon. This letter, which appeared first in a collection of voyages published at Vicenza, in Italy, in 1507, entitled "*Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo*," etc. (the country newly discovered and called the New World), is dated *October 19, 1501*, and says, "*On the 8th of the present month*, one of the two caravels, which his most serene majesty despatched last year, on a voyage of discovery to the north, under command of Gaspar Corterat, arrived, and reports the finding of a country distant hence, west and north-west, two thousand miles, heretofore quite unknown." He then speaks of his bringing fifty-seven native inhabitants of the country. This letter is written certainly more than a year after the sailing of the first expedition, which, in all probability, must have returned within the year, and did not bring the natives, as reported by Pasqualigo. We therefore infer that the voyage above reported from the Portuguese records, must have been prior to the one mentioned by the ambassador, which had arrived but eleven days before the date of his letter. It is contrary to all experience, for those early voyages, to occupy the length of time required by Pasqualigo's statement. Neither of Cabot's voyages much exceeded three months. The first voyage of the Cortereals was commenced in 1500; the second, in May, 1501.—ED.]

4. THE VOYAGE OF MIGUEL CORTEREAL TO THE NORTH-WEST, IN THE YEAR 1502, IN SEARCH OF HIS BROTHER.

Miguel Cortereal, a younger brother of Gaspar, had taken a great interest in his brother's enterprise. He had contributed to the cost of his outfit, and had prepared a vessel of his own to accompany him on his second expedition, but had been prevented from so doing, by several circumstances.* After waiting in vain for the return of his brother, he obtained from the king a commission for a searching expedition, and, at the same time, an extension to himself of the privileges and donations granted to his brother.

He sailed from Lisbon with two vessels, on the 10th of May, 1502, on a search for his brother; but never returned, and was never heard from afterwards.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the noble Emanuel, moved

* See Kunstmann, l. c. p. 58.

with sympathy for his gallant subjects, fitted out a new expedition in 1503, to ascertain the fate of the adventurers. The expedition consisted of two vessels, which, after an unsuccessful cruise, returned without tidings or trace of the lost brothers and their crews.*

Then the eldest of the three brothers, Vasqueanes Cortereal, who had become governor of Terceira, as successor to his father, offered to embark for a further search. But to this proposal, Emanuel refused to give his consent; being unwilling to risk further the lives of his subjects.

I believe it has been pretty clearly shown, that Gaspar Cortereal did not touch the coast of Maine on his expedition in 1500. And there is no evidence, that either he or his brother Miguel, in their subsequent voyages of 1501 and 1502, visited that coast, although it is by no means improbable: but in regard to the time, the place, and other circumstances of the unhappy fate of those enterprising adventurers, we are left without the slightest evidence or suggestion. We may conjecture, with some degree of probability, that their sad fate was a retribution, and not an unjust one, by the native inhabitants of the country, for the cruel abduction of a portion of their people. And that the act took place at least south of the Esquimaux country, perhaps in Maine, we may infer, from the description given of the captured natives.

Such searching expeditions generally take a wide range, because of the uncertainty of the region in which the persons missing are lost. We shall see hereafter, that, at a later time, a Spanish expedition of this kind, in seeking one of their famous captains, lost in the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico,—Fernando De Soto, the discoverer of the Missis-

* See, upon this expedition, Kunstmann, *loc. cit.* p. 58, and Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 334. Stuttgart, 1858.

sippi,—proceeded for this purpose as far north as New England and Newfoundland. It is therefore *possible*, that the two searching vessels of Emanuel looked also into the southern harbors of Nova Scotia, or New England, to find the adventurous Cortereals, who had been lost.

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER V.

1. ON A PORTUGUESE CHART, No. 8, OF THE COASTS OF NEW-FOUNDLAND, LABRADOR, AND GREENLAND, ABOUT THE YEAR 1504.

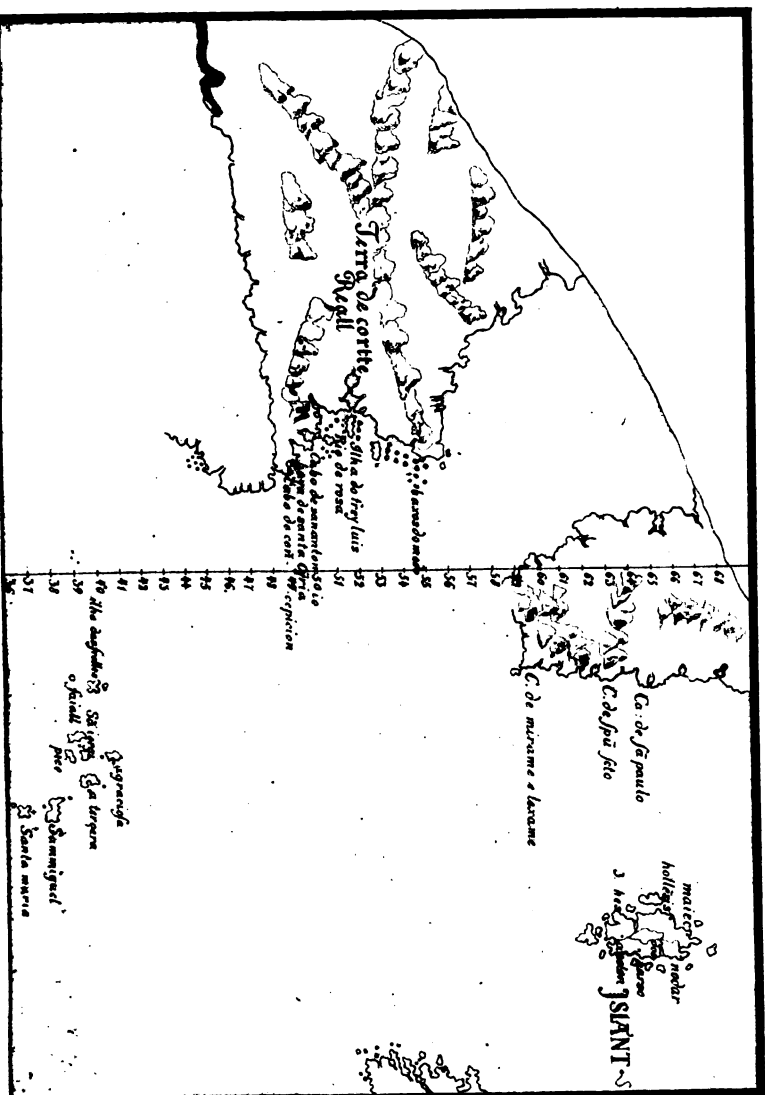
No. 8 is the copy of part of a Portuguese chart found in the collection of old sea-charts in the archives of the Bavarian Army at Munich; and is a most interesting and precious document for the illustration of the Cortereal voyages.

The author of the map is not mentioned. That it was made in Portugal is evident from the circumstance, that nothing but Portuguese discoveries and names are inscribed upon it. Besides the northern section, which we give here, the original map contains also a part of Eastern Africa, the Madeira and Cape Verde Islands, and that part of the coast of Brazil, along which Cabral sailed in the year 1500. The map contains nothing of the West Indies, and has not the slightest trace of the Spanish discoveries in the new world. Between Brazil and the northern parts of America is a broad open space occupied by water. Both of these sections of America, which the Portuguese discovered, lie in the ocean as large islands, well defined in the east, but with uncertain boundaries toward the west.

The year in which the map was made is not indicated. But from internal evidence it is nearly certain, that it was drawn very soon after the expeditions and discoveries of Cabral in 1500, and of the Cortereals, which came to an end in 1503. The map was probably made for Emanuel, to combine on one sheet all the discoveries made by his captains on the western side of the ocean. We may, therefore, fix its date in the year 1504 or 1505.*

In the east, the section of the map which we present, shows some of the countries of the old world, as a part of Ireland and "Island" (Iceland). The latter has its latitude between about 63° and 67° N.,

* Nearly of the same opinion is Peschel, who ascribes its date to "the year 1502 or 1503." See his work, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 331.



NEWFOUNDLAND, LABRADOR and GREENLAND
from a Portuguese chart of the year 1504.

Kunstmann H.

which is nearly correct, and proves that the author of the map was well informed on the subject. Among the names contained in Iceland I mention only "hollensis," which is also found on the map of the Zeni; and which indicates the famous old Icelandic residence of the "Episcopus Holensis" (Bishop Holar).

To the west of Iceland appears a large country, which evidently is the southern part of Greenland; and though this name is not given, it has exactly the configuration of that country. It is placed at about the same distance from Iceland as our Greenland, and it ends like that in the south, about 60° N.* We are at a loss to say where and from what source the Portuguese map-maker, in the year 1504, could have found an original for so good a representation of Greenland, if not from charts brought home by Gaspar Cortereal, after his first expedition in 1500. I think our chart renders it probable that Cortereal, on this voyage, saw and explored Greenland.† The names "C. de S. Paulo," and some others, on the east coast of Greenland, I cannot explain. They may be names placed by Cortereal on his chart. They also appear on other Portuguese maps.

To the west of Greenland we meet another large tract of country called "Terra de cortte Real" (the country of Cortereal); this is Cortereal's principal discovery, and the one granted to him by Emanuel as his province. The configuration of the coasts, and the names written upon them prove, that parts of Newfoundland and of our present Labrador are the regions intended.

The "Cabo de Concepcion" (Cape of Conception), on the southern point of the country, is near Cape Race, and was probably the land-fall of Cortereal. We still have "Conception Bay," in which I think Cortereal had his first anchorage.

The name, "Baya de S. Cyria," long kept its ground on many old maps, and has been often repeated. Our map proves, that it was given by Cortereal. It appears to be the present Trinity Bay. "Cabo de San Antonio" is our Cape Bona Vista; and "Rio de Rosa" would seem to have been a river emptying into this bay.

The "Ilha de frey Luis" (the island of brother Louis) was probably named in honor of brother Louis, who may have been a priest on board the fleet. It is one of the large islands not far from the present "Cape Freels," which is an English corruption and contraction of the Portuguese "Ilha de frey Luis," and from which no doubt it derived

* Peschel (l. c. p. 331) also thinks that it is Greenland, "and that it is represented on our map with nearly modern accuracy."

† Peschel (l. c. p. 330) is also of this opinion.

its name; so that the memory of this good brother still lives in our "Cape Freels."

To the north of Cape Freels, between it and the modern Cape Bauld, the east coast of Newfoundland forms a large, deep gulf, which is indicated on this map, by a bay entering deeply into the country.* In comparing Cortereal's chart with our present map of Newfoundland, we must come to the conclusion that Cortereal entered and explored nearly every bay and gulf of the east coast of Newfoundland; for he has noted them all on his chart, although he has given them too high a latitude.

The entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle is not indicated on our map. In 55° N. we find the name "Baxos do medo" (?) Soon after the coast turns to the north-west, and runs in this direction a long way. At the point "Baxos do medo" we are in the neighborhood of the northern end of Newfoundland and of the south-eastern capes of Labrador. It is nearly impossible to indicate the trending of the north-eastern coast of Labrador more exactly, than it has been done on this chart. Unhappily the chart ends in 62° N., at about the entrance of Hudson's Strait. Thus far to the north-west it is probable that Cortereal went in 1500; and there was stopped by the ice.

Like the coast of Labrador and Greenland, the southern part or entrance of Davis' Strait is much better given on our chart, than on any other before this time, or on any other map for a long time after Cortereal.

In about the latitude of the arctic circle, a dotted line is made on this map, which cuts through the northern parts of Iceland, Greenland, and Davis' Strait. All the water north of this line has, on the original, a dark blue color, which we could not reproduce on our copy. The map-maker intended, perhaps, to express by this line the arctic circle, and the southern boundary of the "Mare congelatum," where Cortereal's progress ended.

To the south of "Cabo de Concepcion" (near Cape Race), the coast of Newfoundland turns to the west, and runs east and west a long distance. The coast of Newfoundland has really this direction, and Cortereal may have looked westward of Cape Race, though he does not appear to have followed this route for any considerable distance. There are no names placed along this coast. Cortereal may have copied this part of his chart from Cabot's, of which he probably had a sketch on

* How Kuntemann (*Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 128) could think that this is the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, and the outlet of Lake Ontario, is inconceivable to me. The entire explanation which this estimable scholar gives of Cortereal's chart, is evidently erroneous.

[illegible]

1

board, such as Cosa, in 1500, had made. On Cosa's (Cabot's) chart, the south coast of Newfoundland and its continuation follow exactly the same line, and have about the same configuration. Cortereal probably thought this region hopeless for his purpose of finding a shorter north-western route to Eastern Asia.

It does not appear by this chart that Cortereal, in 1500, saw the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, or discovered that Newfoundland was an island. "He thought it to be one great mainland." This, or something like this, is expressly said in the first and most authentic report we have on Cortereal's expeditions;* and it is so represented on our chart.

The length of the southern coast of this continent from east to west is about three times the length of the east coast of Newfoundland; from which we conclude, that the western end of the coast-line, given on our chart, reaches the coast of Maine.

At Cape Race, the maker of this map began to sketch a coast-line, which he has left unfinished, running into the water. What he meant by it I cannot tell. He has drawn with great accuracy all the Azores, the principal starting-point of the Cortereals.

If subsequent map-makers had known and copied this original map of Cortereal, particularly that part which relates to Labrador, Davis' Strait, and Greenland, they would have avoided much misrepresentation, and rendered a useful service to science.

2. ON A CHART, NO. 9, OF NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, AND GREENLAND, BY PEDRO REINEL, MADE IN ABOUT 1505.

Number 9 is a copy of that section of North America which appears on a chart of the Atlantic Ocean preserved in the Royal Library at Munich. A fac-simile of this chart was published by the Royal Academy of Bavaria in the "Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte America's (Atlas for the history of discovery of America. Munich, 1859).

On another part of this map an inscription is written in great letters, which runs thus: "Pedro Reinel a fez" (Pedro Reinel made it). According to the Spanish historian Herrera,† Reinel was a Portuguese pilot of great fame (Piloto Portuguez de mucha fama); who, like many Portuguese, entered the Spanish service some time after 1522. The language of the map is Portuguese. It presents only Portuguese discoveries; and shows the arms and flags of Portugal, but not of Spain. From these circumstances it is probable, that the map was made by

* See the letter of the Venitian ambassador, Pasqualigo.

† Herrera, Hist. gen. de las Indias, Dec. III, cap. 18.

Reinel in Portugal before he entered the service of Spain, and probably soon after the voyage of the Cortereals and Cabral. We may, therefore, assign it to the year 1505.*

There is one indication of latitude along a perpendicular line, running across the entire sheet of the chart; and another indication along an oblique or transverse line, which is shorter, and runs only along the shores of Northern America. Along the perpendicular line, Cavo Raso (Cape Race) has the latitude of $50\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Along the oblique line it has the latitude of 47° N. This latter line is nearer the truth; and perhaps was added to the map by a later hand.

The south-eastern part of Newfoundland is here easily recognized, as is the case on all the old charts. The cape which was called on former maps the Cape of England, or the Cape of the Portuguese, is here for the first time named, "Cavo Raso" (the flat cape), a name which is of Portuguese origin, and which may have been introduced by the Cortereals, or by the first Portuguese fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland. The name contains a good description of the natural features of that cape, which is represented by Blunt "as a table-land moderately high."† The English, who did not understand the meaning of the Portuguese word, afterwards changed it to "Cape Race," which has no meaning in this connection.

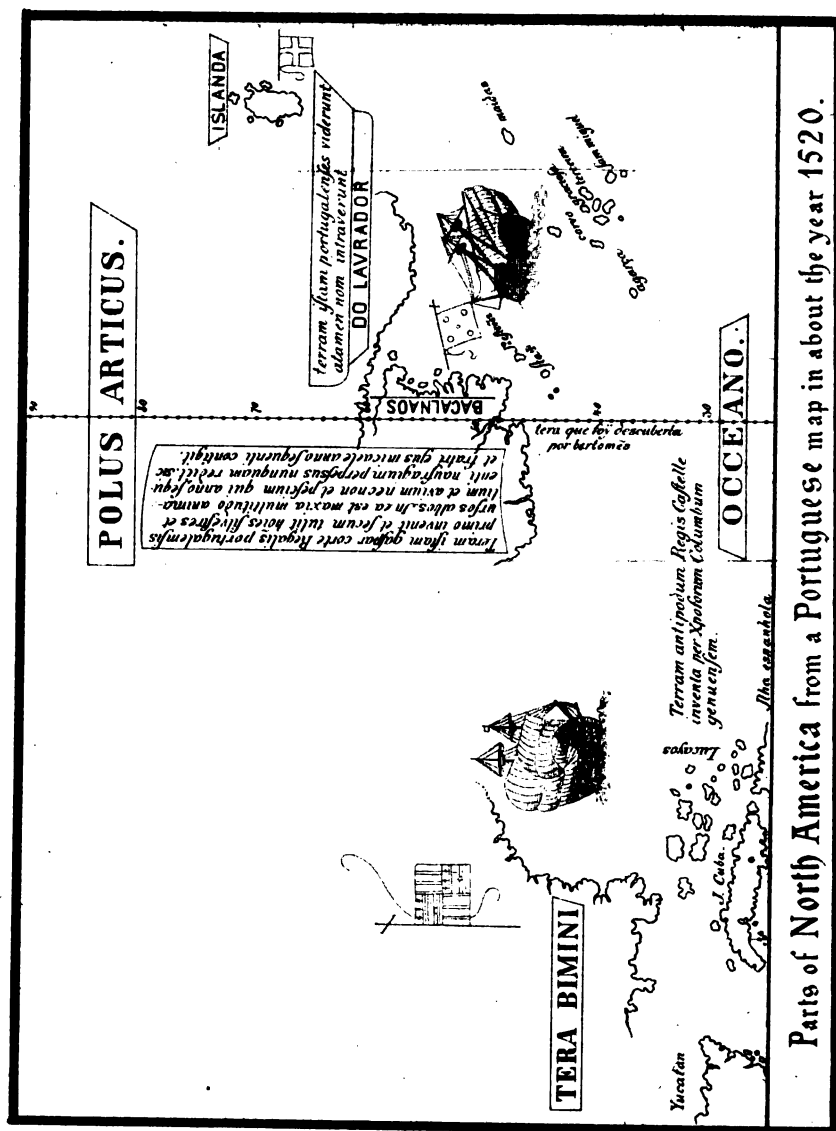
Our chart shows, in the high north, a nameless country which ends toward the south, in about 60° N. There can be no doubt, that Greenland is meant. Cape Farewell, the southern end of Greenland, has the latitude of 60° N., and is one of those points which, like Cape Race, generally has nearly its true position on all the old charts.

To the west of this nameless country, Greenland, is a broad gulf, and a strait running from it in a north-western direction in about 60° N., clearly indicating the entrance of Davis' and Hudson's Straits.

To the south of Hudson's Strait, follow the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland from "Isla da Fortuna" (our present Resolution Island (?) to "Cavo Raso." The entrance to the strait of Belle Isle is perhaps indicated by the great bay near "C. de Boa Ventura," but not as an open strait. The entire coast is covered with many Portuguese names, which probably date from the voyage of the Cortereals. I cannot enter here upon a detailed examination of these names, but only observe that many of them reappear on subsequent charts, and some of them have been retained even down to our time; for instance, that of "Y. dos Bocanhas" (Island of the Cod-fish). We still have an

* Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 332, puts it in the year 1504.

† See Blunt, *American Coast Pilot*, p. 12. New York, 1857.



"Island of Baccalhao" on the coast of Newfoundland. Some of these old Portuguese names have been changed by subsequent English map-makers and mariners. I have already mentioned the name, "Isla de frey Luis" (the island of brother Louis) changed to Cape Freels. Another instance is "Cavo da Espera" (Cape of Hope) changed to Cape Speer. In this modern form, we find these ancient names still on our present maps of Newfoundland.

To the west of C. Raso we have on our chart the south coast of Newfoundland and the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, clearly indicated; and further to the west, the rectangular or square form of a nameless peninsula in about 45° N., which is, no doubt, the square-shaped end of the peninsula of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. As upon Newfoundland and Labrador, so also on this peninsula, a flag-staff, with the Portuguese arms, is planted, which shows that Nova Scotia and its neighborhood were once claimed by that nation. I have found no map on which the flag-staff of Portugal has been erected so near the State of Maine.

The island of "Sancta Cruz," south of Cape Race, may be intended for the dangerous Sable island, and has its true position. We are informed by early writers, that Sable Island was known to the Portuguese.*

3. ON A PORTUGUESE CHART, No. 10, OF FLORIDA, NOVA SCOTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, LABRADOR, AND GREENLAND, MADE ABOUT 1520.

Though Sebastian Cabot, in 1498, had surveyed nearly the entire east coast of North America, and pronounced it continental; and though Juan de la Cosa, in 1500, following the reports and charts of Cabot, had so depicted it on his map; yet it was a long time before this representation was adopted by the map-makers and geographers of the different European nations. Cabot published no report of his voyages; and the maps of Cosa were hung up in the office of the Spanish ministers of marine, but were not generally known or acknowledged. We have, therefore, many charts and maps in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, on which the lands discovered by the English and Portuguese in the higher latitudes of the new world, and by the Spaniards in the vicinity of the West India islands, are represented as separate coun-

* Compare on this chart, also, "J. A. Schmeller, Ueber einige ältere handschriftliche Seekarten," in the "Abhandlungen der I. Cl. d. Ak. der Wissenschaften, IV. Band. Abth. 1, page 247 seq. And Kunstmann, Die Entdeckung America's, p. 125 seq. München, 1859.

tries. On these maps North America is broken up into large islands, separated from each other by broad gulfs or straits, and the coasts of New England entirely disappear.

Map No. 10 is a part of one of these representations. The original was discovered in the royal collections of the king of Bavaria at Munich, and a fac-simile of it has been given by the Royal Academy in the work before cited: "*Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte America's*" (An Atlas of the history of discovery in America). From this we have taken our copy.

The map is evidently of Portuguese origin. The names of places, and some of the inscriptions, are in the Portuguese language. The longer inscriptions are in Latin. The author of it is unknown, as is also the precise time of its composition.*

From the circumstance, however, that Yucatan, which was discovered in the year 1517, is indicated on the map, and nothing of the discovery and conquest by Cortes in 1519, everything on the map west of Yucatan being designated as unknown; we infer that the map was made between 1518 and 1520.

The whole of North America is given in three or four large islands. First, we have Yucatan and its vicinity. The Gulf of Mexico is open toward the west. Then comes "Tera Bimini" (the country of Bimini), our present Florida and the vicinity. The east coast of Florida and the neighboring southern States, runs first toward the north and then to the north-east, and ends on the shores of our present States of Georgia and Carolina, though the latitudes for these regions are too high. Spanish ships under Ponce de Leon, in 1513; Alaminos, in 1519; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, in 1520, had sailed along these coasts. The coast-line appears to end in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras, and this territory is called "Tera Bimini," a name which was introduced by the expedition of Ponce de Leon in search of the mythical country and fabulous fountain of Bimini, in 1513.†

After this is a great gulf or open space, represented as water. Further east, in about the longitude of Brazil, the discoveries of the Corteals are depicted in nearly the same manner as on the map of Reinell (No. 9). The coast of Nova Scotia, on our map, is a little further prolonged to the west. The part where New England should be, appears as water.

* See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 129 seq. Munich, 1869.

† [This country is represented by some to have been an island belonging to the Bahama group, but lying far out in the ocean. The fountain was supposed to possess the power of restoring youth. It was an object of eager search by early adventurers. —Ed.]

Newfoundland and Labrador are named "Bacalnaos," under which name Nova Scotia is also included. Greenland, as usual, is called Labrador.

The Portuguese inscription, added to Nova Scotia and the island of Cape Breton, describes it as "a country discovered by Bretons."

The inscription written upon Labrador literally translated is this: "The Portuguese saw this country, but did not enter it."

The long Latin inscription, which seems to be intended for all these regions, may be thus translated: "This country was first discovered by Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, and he brought from there wild and barbarous men and white bears. There are to be found in it plenty of animals, birds, and fish. In the following year he was shipwrecked and did not return; the same happened to his brother Michael in the next year."

Iceland (Islanda) has its true position and latitude on the east of Greenland. A perpendicular line, on which the degrees of latitude are indicated, runs through the whole map. It is the famous "line of demarcation," by which, at the treaty of Tordesilas (June 7, 1494), the world was divided between Spain and Portugal. The line sets off to Portugal, 1. The greater section of Brazil, which we have not reproduced on our map. 2. Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland, which we have retained in our copy. The Portuguese flag covers all these regions. The Spanish flag is planted "in Tera Bimini."

The latitude and longitude, given on our map to the Portuguese discoveries, are much more correct, than those given to the Spanish dominions; which fact proves, that the Portuguese map-maker had not very good authority for his Spanish insertions. The group of the Azores, however, is placed too near the northern part of the continent. That they always are laid down in connection with Greenland and Newfoundland, is explained from the circumstance, that those islands were the starting-points of the Cortereals for their excursions to the north. Several of the Cortereals being governors of the Azores, they considered the northern part of America, "Bacallaos" and the vicinity, as a part of their hereditary government.

In the central parts of America near St. Domingo, our map has a Latin inscription, of which a literal translation is as follows: "The country of the Antipodes, of the king of Castile, discovered by Christopher Columbus, the Genoese." This name, "The country of the Antipodes," appears to be the name adopted by our map-maker for all the surrounding islands and countries, or for the whole of America.

182 PORTUGUESE MAP OF PARTS OF N. AMERICA.

The results of the examination of these maps, for the early history of Maine, may be summed up thus :

1. No coast of New England whatever is here indicated. A void space appears where it ought to be.
2. New England, like the rest of America, is comprised under the name of "The country of the Antipodes."
3. The flags and frontiers of the Portuguese dominions come very near to Maine.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH, SPANISH, AND FRENCH VOYAGES, DESIGNED OR ACCOMPLISHED, SUBSEQUENT TO THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CABOTS AND THE CORTEREALS.

1. TWO PATENTS OF HENRY VII, OF ENGLAND, TO NAVIGATORS IN 1501 AND 1502.—ENGLISH VOYAGES TO NEW-FOUNDLAND IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WHETHER Sebastian Cabot made a voyage to the new world in 1499 is uncertain ; and we have no authentic information as to his employment after his return in 1498, for several years. No early writer speaks of him until the year 1512, when, according to Herrera, he accepted from Ferdinand an invitation to Spain. His fame, as the projector of great circle-sailing, as the earnest advocate of a north-western passage to India, and as the discoverer of a new region, was widely spread.

The knowledge of his discovery and adventures must early have reached Spain and Portugal, and inspired the sovereigns of those countries with desire to engage in further explorations in the north-west. The expedition of Dornelos in Spain, and of the Cortereals in Portugal, may have been the direct results of the voyages of 1497 and 1498.

We seek in vain for the cause why Cabot himself did not continue the work so successfully commenced by him, and why he left its accomplishment to others. Had he despaired,

after all his arctic trials, of finding an open route to the Molluccas? Or was he discouraged by not finding, on his long exploring voyage from Labrador to Florida, a single attractive section of the coast, worthy of further examination?*

However this may have been, there is nothing to show that Sebastian Cabot entered on a new enterprise for a long time; whilst others, stimulated by the fame of his discoveries, followed his track.

As in Portugal and Spain, so also in England, we recognize some traces of the "quickenings impulse of his, in some respects, successful enterprise." In 1501, and again in 1502, Henry VII. issued patents for discoveries in foreign lands.

The first of these, dated March 19, 1501, is alluded to by Lord Bacon in his history of Henry VII.† But more recently, Mr. Biddle has discovered the original document in the Rolls Chapel, in London; and has, for the first time, published it in his memoir of Cabot.‡ Its contents are similar to those of the first patent given to John Cabot in 1496, which seems itself to have been copied from the commissions given by the Spanish kings to their adventurers.

The second patent bears date December 9, 1502, and is granted to a portion of the same patentees; namely, Thomas Ashehurst, John and Francis Fernandus, and John Gunsolus, Portuguese, named in the first patent, together with Hugh Elliott; and conveys similar, but even more extensive privileges.

These patents gave a roving commission to the parties to

*[See on this, Ramusio, "••• di ritornarmene in Inghilterra: dove giunto trovo grandissimi tumulti di popoli sollevati, e della guerra in Scotia: ne piu era in consideratione alcuna il navigare a queste parti, per ilche me ne venni in Spagna al Re Catholico," vol. 1, fol. 374. 1563.—*Ed.*]

† See Bacon's History of King Henry VII, p. 189. London, 1629.

‡ See this work, p. 312. London, 1832.

explore, at their own expense, all islands and regions "in the eastern, western, southern, and northern seas heretofore unknown to Christians."

What was done under these broad commissions, is nowhere reported, so far as we know. It is supposed that one voyage was made, but no particulars of it exist.

That explorations in Newfoundland and its neighborhood were intended, and that a connection existed between the English expedition and the Portuguese undertaking of the Cortereals, appears probable from the circumstance, that among the principal patentees were the three above-named "Portuguese Squyres from the Isles of Surrys" (Azores), where one of the Cortereals was then governor, and where, the year before, 1500, Gaspar de Cortereal had touched on his expedition to the north-west.

Mr. Biddle thinks that *one* voyage at least, in the year 1501, was made. He infers this, *first*, from the improbability of the three Portuguese "Squyres" remaining idle in England for nearly two years; *secondly*, from the probability that the patentees, by an experimental voyage, may have turned to account the first patent, and therefore called for a second; and *thirdly*, from the fact, that the English chronicler, Stow, states in his Annals, that three Indians, "taken in the New-found Isles" were presented, in 1502, to Henry VII.*

Another circumstance, not mentioned by Mr. Biddle, appears to me to sustain his supposition. Hakluyt, in his great work,† gives "a brief extract concerning the discovery of

* See Biddle, Memoir, p. 228 seq. He also quotes (p. 228, Amer. edit.) from entries in the account of the Privy Purse, expenses of Henry VII, this entry: "7 January, 1502, To men of Bristol that found Th' Isle, £5; 30 September, 1502, To the Merchants of Bristol that have been in the Newe founde Launde, £20." [Other items from the Privy Purse account are afterwards quoted by our Author.—ED.]

† Hakluyt, Voyages, etc, vol. 3, p. 10. 1600.

Newfoundland, taken out of the book of Mr. Robert Thorne to Doctor Leigh," in which Thorne mentions "that his father had been one of the discoverers of Newfoundland, in company with another merchant of Bristol, named Hugh Elliot." Elliot was one of the patentees named in the grant of December, 1502.* He and his associates would scarcely have been called by Thorne "*discoverers* of Newfoundland," if they had not made a voyage thither.

From certain entries in the account of the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII, it appears, that after the voyages of the Cabots, an intercourse was kept up for several years between England and the newly discovered regions. These entries are too remarkable not to be mentioned here.

On Nov. 17, 1503, the king paid one pound to "a man that brought hawkes from the Newfound island;" on April 8, 1504, two pounds to a priest, "who was going to that island;" and on Aug. 25, 1505, a small sum to a man who brought "wylde cats and popyngays of the Newfound island to Richmond."

The king had before made similar small presents to persons who had been out with the Cabots, namely: "On Aug. 10, 1497, 10 pounds to him that found the new isle." Some have supposed that John Cabot was rewarded in this manner; others, with more probability, that this small royal present was given only to the man on board the Matthew, who first discovered land. "On March 24, 1498, To Lanslot Thirkill, of London, upon a prest for his ship going toward the New Islande, 20 pounds; on April 1, 1498, to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill, going to the New Isle, 30 pounds."†

These memoranda, which have been brought to light by Mr. Biddle,‡ seem pretty clearly to prove the continuation

* See Biddle, l. c. p. 225.

† See Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, vol. 1, p. 8.

‡ See Biddle, Memoir, p. 234.

of voyages between England and Newfoundland in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

It is a very curious circumstance, that the country in which the Cabots started their idea for a navigation to the north-west, and in which they at first proclaimed their discovery of the rich fishing-banks near their New-found-Isles, did not at once profit by it so much as their neighbors, the French and the Portuguese, as we shall hereafter relate. During the first half of the sixteenth century we hear little of *English* fishing and commercial expeditions to the great banks; although they had a branch of commerce and fishery with Iceland. Perhaps, having the fish-market of this northern country at their disposal, for some time they did not seek *new* fishing-grounds. "It was not until the year 1548, that the English government passed the first act for the encouragement of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, after which they became active competitors in this profitable occupation."*

2. PORTUGUESE FISHERMEN ON THE NEWFOUNDLAND BANKS.

Gaspar Cortereal undertook his enterprise with the lofty intention of finding the rich countries of the east. "But," says the Spanish historian, Gomara, "he found no passage."

King Emanuel, having heard of the high trees growing in the northern countries, and having seen the aborigines who appeared so well qualified for labor, thought he had found a new slave-coast like that which he owned in Africa; and dreamed of the tall masts which he would cut, and the men-of-war which he would build, from the forests of the country of the Cortereals. But if he had made an experiment with his

* Memorial volume of the Popham Celebration, Aug. 29, 1862, p. 38. Portland, 1863.

American Indians, he would soon have known, that, as laborers, they were not to be compared with the negroes from Africa. And as to the masts for his men-of-war, he would also have found, that he could procure them at a much cheaper rate from the Baltic, or some other European country in the neighborhood of Portugal, than from the distant land of the Cortereals, where no harbors, no anchoring stations, and no roads existed, and no saw-mills had been erected.

The great expectations raised by the Cortereals had no immediate results. But another discovery of Cortereal, as well as of Cabot, had revealed to the Portuguese the wealth to be derived from the fish, particularly cod-fish, which abounded on that coast. The fishermen of Portugal and of the Western Islands, when this news was spread among them, made preparations for profiting by it, and soon extended their fishing excursions to the other side of the ocean.

According to the statement of a Portuguese author, very soon after the discoveries by the Cortereals, a Portuguese Fishing Company was formed in the harbors of Vianna, Aveiro, and Terceira, for the purpose of colonizing Newfoundland and making establishments upon it.* Nay, already, in 1506, three years after the return of the last searching expedition for the Cortereals, Emanuel gave order, "that the fishermen of Portugal, at their return from Newfoundland, should pay a tenth part of their profits at his custom-houses."† It is certain, therefore, that the Portuguese fishermen must, previous to that time, have been engaged in a profitable business. And this is confirmed by the circumstance, that they originated the name of "tierra de Bacalhas" (the Stock-fish-country), and gave currency to it; though the word, like the

* See Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 334. Stuttgart, 1858.

† See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, pp. 69 and 95.

cod-fishery itself, appears to be of Germanic origin.* The name may have been given by the Portuguese fishermen at first, to what the king of Portugal and his official map-makers called "terra de Cortereal" (Cortereal's land); that is to say, to our present Newfoundland; and then have been extended, with the progress of their discoveries, to the adjacent countries. The nations, who followed them in the fishing business, imitated their example, and adopted the name "country of the Bacalhas" (or, in the Spanish form, Baccallaos), though sometimes interchanging it with names of their own invention, as the "Newfoundland," "Terre neuve," etc.

Enterprises in such a new branch of activity, must, of course, have been attended with great difficulties; some preliminary explorations must have been necessary to find the best places for fishing, the most convenient harbors for refuge, the easiest coasts for watering, for repairs, and for drying the fish.

The Portuguese Fishing Company probably made these experiments; and their first fishing voyages were undoubt-

*The cod-fish was caught on the coasts of Europe from time immemorial, by the Scandinavians, Germans, Dutch, and English, in the northern waters of the continent, and toward Iceland. These Germanic nations had long called it by the name of "Cabliauwe," or "Kabeljouwe," and with some transposition of the letters, "Backljau." The name, in several forms, had been used long before the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals, in many Flemish and German books and documents. The root of the word appears to be the Germanic "bolch," meaning fish. The Portuguese, who had no cod-fish on their coasts in Europe, but who had probably known it before the Cortereals, by way of the Netherlands, adopted the Germanic name in the above-mentioned form "Bacalhao" (pronounced like the German Backljau); and then becoming the first and most active fishermen on the coasts of Newfoundland, communicated this form of the word to the rest of the world. That the name should have been introduced by the Cabots, is, for many reasons, most improbable; and that they should have heard and received the name from the Indians, is certainly not true; though both these facts are asserted by Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, Dec. III, cap. 6.

edly, at the same time, real exploring expeditions, continuing the work commenced by the Cortereals.

It is, therefore, matter of regret, that no journals of the voyages of these first Portuguese fishermen have come down to us, and that we know so very little of the beginning and progress of their fisheries. Were we better informed on those points we should probably find, now and then, exploring Portuguese merchants and fishermen on shores somewhat distant from Newfoundland, and perhaps also on the coasts of Nova Scotia and of the Gulf of Maine; and we might be able to show how some of the Portuguese geographical names, so widely scattered on all the old maps of the countries about the "Golfo Quadrado" (the Gulf of St. Lawrence), originated. Many of them probably were not given by the official expeditions of the Cortereals, but came gradually into use among the fishermen, and were afterwards adopted on the maps and in the books of geographers.

A Scandinavian author informs us, that sometimes in stormy seasons, during the sixteenth century, Portuguese fishermen were blown off from the Newfoundland Banks, and driven by westerly gales to the unfriendly shores of Greenland.* If such events happened with westerly storms on the coast of Greenland, they also *may* have happened with easterly gales on the coast of New England, although no report exists of such cases. The coast of the Gulf of Maine lies at about the same distance south-west of Newfoundland, as the coast of Greenland does to the north-east. The Portuguese fishermen may thus have often appeared on our coast, and become acquainted with it.

They continued their expeditions to Newfoundland and its neighborhood for a long time. They were often seen there by later English and other visitors during the course of the

* See Kunstmann, l. c. pp. 70 and 95.

sixteenth century; for instance, according to Herrera, in 1519;* again by the English in 1527;† and again by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583. This English navigator, or his historian, praises "the Portugal fishermen" he met there, for their kindness "above those of other nations," and for the liberal assistance which they rendered him. "They presented him with wines, marmelades, most fine ruske and bisket, sweat oyles, and sundry delicacies."‡ He states also, that the Portuguese had made a very interesting settlement for shipwrecked seamen upon "Sable Island," that dangerous spot in the vicinity of Nova Scotia, famous for shipwrecks and disasters. "Some Portugals," he says, "above thirty year past," consequently about the middle of the sixteenth century, "put into the same island both neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied." Gilbert and his men thought it extremely convenient "to have such a store of cattle in an island, lying so near unto the maine which they intended to plant upon."§

* See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

† See Purchas, Pilgrims, tom. 3, p. 809.

‡ See Hakluyt, "The Principal Navigations," etc., p. 687. London, 1589 [The Portuguese engaged in this fishery as early as 1501, according to good authorities, and perhaps under the charter of Henry VII. In 1578, they had fifty ships employed in that trade, and England as many more, and France 150. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert found in the harbor of St. John, when he took possession of the island, twenty Portuguese and Spanish vessels, and sixteen of other nations. So important had the fisheries become to English commerce, that, in 1626, 150 ships were sent out from Devonshire alone. How singularly has the prophetic voice of the New England explorer, Capt. John Smith, been fulfilled, when, in his account of the country, he says, "Therefore honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meannesse of the word *fish* distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."—ED.]

§ See Hakluyt, l. c. p. 691. French authors say, that this useful establishment on Sable Island was made by French fishermen, and not by Portuguese.

From all these reports it is clear, that the Portuguese, throughout the whole course of the century with the history of which we are occupied, were active on the banks and shores of Newfoundland, and found refuge in storms in its harbors, and even in those as far north as Greenland, and probably also as far south as Maine. They had thus made themselves prominent and useful in the progress of the exploration and discovery of this part of our coast. This may be considered as a continuation and consequence of the work commenced by King Emanuel, and the energetic though unfortunate brothers Cortereal, who are justly celebrated in the geographical history of the north-east of America.

The discoveries of the Portuguese fishermen have been delineated by some of their countrymen on charts and maps; some of which, coming to our time, have given us a clearer knowledge of their acts. I shall reproduce, in subsequent pages, some of these charts, and examine their contents.

3. VOYAGES TO NEWFOUNDLAND, PROPOSED BY JUAN DORNELOS, JUAN DE AGRAMONTE, AND SEBASTIAN CABOT, IN 1500, 1511, AND 1515.

When Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain heard, in 1496, of the proposed voyage of Cabot, they ordered their ambassador in England, De Puebla, to notify and warn the king, that he could not engage in such an enterprise, without prejudice to the rights of Spain and Portugal. And when, in 1498, Cabot's discovery had been actually made, and possession of the country taken in the name of the king of England, the Spanish ambassador then in England, Don Pedro de Ayala, wrote to his sovereigns, that he had protested against such acts on the ground, that Newfoundland was already in possession of their Spanish majesties.

We may well suppose that the Spanish sovereigns would

not content themselves with a mere protestation against what they considered inroads upon their territorial rights. And indeed the Spanish archives furnish evidence, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain not only kept her eyes on the northern regions, but had planned, if not executed, voyages toward them.

In the year 1500, when the king of Portugal was fitting out Cortereal for his voyage of discovery, the king of Spain summoned to his court Juan Dornelos, a Spanish navigator, to plan an exploring expedition.

Navarrete, the Spanish historian, thinks that this voyage of Dornelos was projected for the purpose of reconnoitering the seas and countries discovered by the Cabots. It is uncertain whether the project was carried into effect.*

In the same year, the Spanish navigator, Hojeda, was instructed to follow the track of the English discoverers in the north; but whether he did this, or what were the results, we have no information.†

Joanna, of Castile, called the Insane, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, gave a commission and letters patent, in 1511, to Juan de Agramonte, for an exploring expedition to the north-west; but whether it was undertaken and with what results, no memorials remain to show. The instructions given, and the preliminary proceedings are too interesting in this connection to be omitted. In these letters it is recited, that Agramonte had formerly made a proposition for a similar enterprise to her father, King Ferdinand, and received from him a commission for a voyage of discovery. The interesting points of this commission are as follows:

Agramonte was to go out with two ships, "to discover a

* See Navarrete, *Collección de los viajes y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 3, pp. 41 and 77, Madrid, 1829; and Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 236.

† See upon this, Peschel, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, p. 316, note 2. Stuttgart, 1858.

certain new land within the limits appertaining to the queen of Castile, and to know the secret of this country" ("a descubrir cierta tierra nueva en los limites que a nos pertenecen, para ir a saber el secreto de la tierra nueva").

He was to take on board his vessels only such mariners and seamen as were subjects of the queen, with the exception of two pilots, whom he might take from the mariners of Brittany in France, or any other nation well acquainted in those parts.

He had liberty of going to Brittany to engage these pilots; and might then bring from thence to Spain wine, meat, meal, and other provisions for his expedition, without paying any duty to the queen.

He was allowed to start for Newfoundland at any time convenient to himself, and might go to that part of it which pleased him best; but should take care not to invade any portion belonging to the king of Portugal, and should keep within the limits pointed out by the agreement between the kings of the two countries.

Agramonte was ordered to attempt a settlement (poblacion) in the new country in the name of the queen of Castile; and if he succeeded, he should be made hereditary chief justice of the colony for himself and his heirs, and should designate all the other officers of the new country.

If he brought good tidings from the new country, and if he found there signs of gold and other useful things, he should be declared a perpetual officer of the queen, and should have a good salary during his life. On his return to Spain, he was required to have all the gold and precious things which God's pleasure might allow him to bring from Newfoundland, accurately registered and numbered, and put on paper before a royal notary of the Spanish harbor in which he should happen to arrive.*

* See Navarrete, l. c. p. 122 seq.

We may add to these interesting details of the agreement between Agramonte and Ferdinand, confirmed by Queen Joanna in October, 1511, the following remarks:

We do not learn in what year Agramonte made his first proposition to Ferdinand, and obtained his first commission. It was probably some years before 1511; and this proves that Spain, after the time of Dornelos, had not lost sight of Newfoundland.

It is apparent from the details in regard to offices and other subjects in the commission, that the principal object of the voyage was to make a Spanish settlement in Newfoundland. This royal *Spanish* commission to Agramonte reminds us of another well known royal *English* commission, given at a later date, in 1583, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was also sent out to make a plantation in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland (la tierra nueva) was, at that time, understood in Spain to include not only the present island of Newfoundland, but other countries which had been seen, or might still be found to the north, west, and south of it. The royal commission gave warning to Agramonte to avoid carefully those parts of which the king of Portugal had taken possession, and to go only to those sections of "Tierra nueva," which fell within the limits of Spain. The Cortereals, having discovered for the king of Portugal the east coast of Newfoundland and the northern regions, those sections of country, according to the Spanish charts made at the time, were considered as under the dominion of the king of Portugal. If Agramonte was not to touch those parts, his expedition must have been destined to some more southern and western section of "Tierra nueva," which might then be seen delineated on the charts of Cosa (1500) and Reinell (1510); and it is, therefore, not improbable, that the expedi-

tion was really destined, either for the coasts of New England, or for some country nearer to them, than Newfoundland: for instance, to the "tierra de los Bretones" (the country of the Bretons). To this country, the pilots from Brittany, whom Agramonte was to take with him, probably would have conducted him first of all.

We may, therefore, with a certain degree of probability, regard this enterprise of Agramonte as an expedition destined to our regions, and an attempt to make a Spanish settlement somewhere along the coast of the Gulf of Maine, often included under the name of "tierra de los Bretones."

When I come to treat of the navigators of Brittany and Normandy, I will show that, in former times, they were in the habit of enlisting as pilots in Spanish and Portuguese expeditions to distant countries. It is curious to learn from our document, that, in 1511, they had become so expert in long voyages, at least in the direction of the north-east of North America, that the government of Spain deemed it best to recommend the employment of these pilots from Brittany. This circumstance proves, that as early as 1511, the Britons were best acquainted with the coasts comprised under the names of "Tierra nueva" and "Tierra de los Bretones."

From all these formal proceedings and preparations, it would be natural to conclude that Agramonte had really undertaken this grand voyage. "But unhappily," says Navarrete, "we are left uninformed respecting the results of this expedition. No Spanish historian speaks of them."* It may be, that, like so many other gallant adventurers to the new world, he perished in his enterprise, and never returned to Spain.

* Navarrete, l. c. p. 43.

But notwithstanding these numerous failures, Spain did not relinquish the idea of northern exploration.

Sebastian Cabot had been in the service of Spain since 1512, and we may suppose that he would favor undertakings to explore still further the field of his first discovery. And we learn from the first chronicler of the Spanish discoveries, Peter Martyr, that in the years following Agramonte, Spain continued to direct her attention to the north-western regions. Peter Martyr says, in a letter written in 1515, "Cabot is daily expecting that ships will be furnished to him, with which he at last may discover that hidden secret of nature" (the existence of a north-west passage); and he adds, "I think that he will start for his exploration in the month of March of the next year, 1516."*

But Ferdinand, the great patron of discovery and of Cabot, died on the 23d of January, 1516. This event seems to have put an end to this contemplated expedition of Cabot.

That the Bretons and Normans, in their fishing expeditions, visited countries distant from their fishing-grounds, and made discoveries there, appears by what Herrera occasionally relates. This Spanish historian, in his *Annals of the Spanish Navigations*, under the date of 1526, makes the following remarks :

"Nicolaus Don, a native of Brittany, wrote this year to the emperor, that in going with thirty mariners to the fisheries of Bacallaos he had met with stormy weather, and been driven to a country which belonged to the emperor's dominions; and that he had found the people of that country of good manners and fashion, and that they wore collars and other ornaments of gold." From this and other signs, which he had observed, he judged, that it was a rich country, and he proposed to the emperor to enter the Spanish service, and

* See the Latin extract of Peter Martyr, given in Biddle's *Memoir*, p. 101.

go to that country for traffic; giving to his majesty the fourth part of the profit of his first voyage, and then being allowed to trade there, as the emperor's vassal.

The emperor acknowledged the Frenchman's letter and thanked him for his good-will, "knowing very well, that if he should deny him the license, he, nevertheless, would make the trafficking voyage without license." He, therefore, answered said Don, that he approved his proposal; that he might come with his companions; and that he should have the despatches which he wished.*

The country to which Don was driven, and which he thought belonged to the king of Spain, could not have been on the coast of Newfoundland or north of it; because the Bretons must have known that these regions, since the time of the Cortereals, were considered as belonging to the dominions of Portugal. Neither could it have been directly west of Newfoundland, or around the Gulf of Canada, or in Nova Scotia (the so-called country of the Bretons); for here a Frenchman would have known himself to be in the dominions of his own country.

We should, therefore, look for this country somewhere south-west of Nova Scotia, toward Norumbega and Florida, the latter of which was decidedly under the Spanish rule. As a vessel from the great banks would not, probably, be driven very far to the south-west, we may justly conclude that the country which Don had found, was the coast of Maine, or some part of New England; and that the golden ornaments of which he spoke, existed only in his imagination.

At all events, this affair, incidentally mentioned by Herrera, proves that the Bretons, and other fishermen of the

* See Herrera, *Historia General*, etc., Dec. III, lib. 10, cap. 9. Madrid, 1601.

banks, were sometimes driven to distant countries; and that they trafficked with the aborigines. I say "sometimes," but we might say, "very often." For one such case, which came to the knowledge of Herrera, we may well suppose there were many which escaped the knowledge of himself and other historians.

4. FRENCH VOYAGES TO THE NORTH-EAST OF AMERICA, AFTER CABOT AND CORTEREAL.

Soon after the exploring expeditions of the Cabots and Cortereals, there appeared in our waters the ships and mariners of another nation, which, next to England, has been the most prominent actor in the discovery and colonization of the northern portion of America, and particularly of the State of Maine.

The inhabitants of the little harbors of Normandy and Brittany, the great peninsulas of France, stretching out, like Great Britain, toward the west, and washed by the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, have been fishermen and mariners from a remote time. The people of Brittany were a colony from Great Britain; and the French Normans had in their veins the blood of the Scandinavian Northmen, whose heroic spirit and love of the sea they inherited. No wonder, then, that they should follow the footsteps of their forefathers to the north-east of America. All that the French Normans accomplished there may be considered, in a certain degree, as a continuation of the enterprises of the old Northmen in these regions. And, to a certain degree also, this general remark may be applied to all that was afterwards accomplished for the discovery and settlement of North America by the English; who were in part descendants of the old Northmen. The entire activity of the nations of Northern Europe from the old Northmen down to the present settlers of English

blood in New England, is, in this respect, one and the same series of connected undertakings.

The names of the ports of Dieppe, Honfleur, St. Malo, Brest, La Rochelle, etc., were mentioned in the maritime history of France long before Columbus. From the very beginning of the modern age of discovery, many expeditions had been undertaken from several of these ports to the Canary Islands, and to southern points of Africa ; in which direction the French, under the command of their captains, Béthencourt of Rochelle, Cousin of Dieppe, and Gonnevillle of Honfleur, became the rivals, and in some cases the leaders of the Portuguese and Spaniards.*

These inhabitants of the western coast of France were also among the first who profited by the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals, and who followed in the wake of the Portuguese fishermen toward the north-west cod-fish country.

The harbors of Brittany and Normandy were about midway between Bristol and Lisbon, and from both sides the news of the English and Portuguese expeditions, and the fame of "Bacallaos" and "Labrador," must soon have reached them. But they had no enterprising king at the head of their affairs, like Emanuel of Portugal, or even Henry VII, of England. Indeed, they had scarcely any king at all ; for the kings of the interior of France had only just then begun to extend their dominion toward the coasts of the Atlantic.

The fishermen and merchants of Brittany and Normandy were obliged, therefore, to act for themselves. Their ports were almost independent communities in which everything was left to private enterprise. Great official expeditions, favored by a powerful government and royal favor, became

* See the work, L. Estancelin, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs Normands*, p. 160. Paris, 1832.

possible in France only at a later date, when Francis I. had brought the whole kingdom under one government.

But instead of an enterprising king, those ports had their associations of fishermen and merchants, and other commercial institutions. In some of them, as in Dieppe in Normandy, hydrography and cosmography had been cultivated at an early date.* Dieppe also possessed, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, such intelligent and enterprising ship-owners and merchants as the celebrated Angos, father and son, who became widely known in the history of navigation and discovery.†

The first voyages of the Bretons of St. Malo, and the Normans of Dieppe to Newfoundland, are said to have occurred as early as 1504; only one year after the last Portuguese searching expedition for the Cortereals. The first French fishing voyages were, without doubt, real exploring expeditions. And as everything was then new to them, it is much to be regretted that no reports of their discoveries have been preserved. They probably visited places of which the Portuguese had not taken possession; and we therefore find them at the south of Newfoundland, and especially at the island of Cape Breton, to which they gave the name, still retained,—the oldest French name on the American north-east coast.

Two years later, in 1506, Jean Dénys of Honfleur, a very expert and able navigator, is mentioned “in very good old memoirs,”—so they are called by Charlevoix, the historian of Canada,‡—as having explored, in company with his pilot

* See M. L. Vitet, *Histoire des anciennes villes de France*, tom. 2, p. 51. Paris, 1833.

† [So powerful were these illustrious merchants, that when some of their ships were captured by the Portuguese, they, single handed, blockaded the mouth of the Tagus, made large reprisals, and compelled the king of Portugal to make reparation for their losses.—ED.]

‡ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vol. 1, p. 4. Paris, 1744.

Camart, a native of Rouen, the "Golfo Quadrado" (Gulf of St. Lawrence).^{*} He is also said to have made a chart of the gulf, and of the mouth of the great river of Canada. This is not altogether improbable; for the mariners of Honfleur and Dieppe were early accustomed to make charts and maps. "The very oldest charts, preserved in the Depot de la Marine at Paris, were traced by them;"[†] though in this great mass of interesting documents and maps, the map of Jean Dénys has not yet been discovered. On the charts of the first years of the sixteenth century we find no other trace of these French discoveries; unless it may be that occasionally the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence is laid down, and also, quite regularly, a fair representation of Cape Breton, which may be ascribed to the French.

A man with the Portuguese or Spanish name, "Velasco," is said by French authors to have made a voyage to the St. Lawrence with some Frenchmen, at the same time that Dénys was in those regions.[‡] This is not unlikely; for the chronicles of the French seaports assert, that from time immemorial, Spanish merchants were settled in these ports; and that it was the custom of the adventurers of St. Malo and Dieppe, in long voyages, to have on board an expert Spanish or Portuguese pilot, or at least "factor" and "interpreter."[§] Velasco might have been such a pilot in the service of a Frenchman. Besides, we should be inclined to believe in reports of early French voyages to the St. Lawrence, even if they were not strictly proved by official and authentic docu-

^{*} The same French captain, Jean Dénys, is also mentioned in the history of Brazil, as having made, in the year 1504, a voyage of discovery to that part of South America.

[†] See Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, p. 51. Paris, 1853.

[‡] Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, p. 4. Paris, 1744.

[§] See Vitet, l. c. p. 63.

ments ; because this basin must have attracted not only fishermen, but navigators, who were looking for a passage through to the Pacific Ocean. It would be inexplicable if this basin had really been as much neglected by the fishermen, as it appears to have been by the map-makers in nearly all the charts before Cartier, 1534. For this latter neglect we may, however, account by the loss of the original charts and authentic documents, which we have so much reason to lament.

The Italian historian, Ramusio, to whom we owe nearly all the few notices we have of the early undertakings of the Normans and Bretons, mentions still another navigator of Dieppe, whom he calls "Thomaso Aubert." According to him, this Aubert went out as commander of a ship, "*La Pensée*," belonging to Jean Ango, the merchant and ship-owner of Dieppe above-mentioned ; who was the father of the still more famous Ango, Viscount of Dieppe.

What parts of the north-east Aubert visited and explored, Ramusio does not state. But his voyage was remarkable for bringing to France the first aborigines from the country afterwards called Canada.* Some of these Canadian Indians were portrayed in Dieppe, and appear amongst other figures, in an old piece of masonry or bas-relief, still preserved in the church of St. James in Dieppe.†

Ten years after Aubert, in 1518, or perhaps a few years later, a similar voyage to the same regions was undertaken by the "*Sieur Baron de Léry*," an enterprising man, "who had directed his mind and courage to high things," and who desired to establish a French settlement on the other side of the ocean. He embarked many men and cattle on board of one or two vessels, and commenced his voyage. But having

* See Ramusio, l. c. tom. 3, fol. 423, F.

† See a description and copy of this bas-relief in Vitet, *Histoire de Dieppe*, p. 112 seq.

encountered storms and unfavorable weather, he was diverted from his enterprise, and put into Sable Island, where he landed the cattle, and returned to France.*

We have no records by which to determine what names the French gave to the countries discovered or visited by them. That given by the patriotic Portuguese, "the country of Cortereal," would not be acceptable to them; and it is probable, that they adopted the less exclusive English name, introduced by Cabot, "*The new isle*," or, "*The new found land*," which they translated "*La terre neuve*." Perhaps, also, the name, "Bacallaos," derived from the most important product of the region, came into use among them, and was translated by them, "*La terre des morues*;" and because the Bretons from Brittany were, at first, the most prominent in this branch of trade, and were the principal explorers and visitors of the southern section of Cortereal's country, the name, "*Terre des Bretons*" (the land of the Bretons) came into general use among the French, as well as among other nations. On maps of the early part of the sixteenth century, we see this name extended over a large tract of country, including Nova Scotia and a large portion of New England.

According to the great French captain whom Ramusio quotes, and who wrote his discourse on the early French navigators in 1537, it appears that at this time, of all these names, the most common among the French was "*La Terre Neuve*." He says, that "*La Terre Neuve*" extends northward to 60° N., and southward to 40° N.; and adds, that many also called it, and particularly the southern section discovered by Verrazano, "*La Terre Francaise*" (the French country). This latter may have been an official name, whilst "*La Terre Neuve*" was probably the popular name among the fishermen and in the sea-ports. This French

* See D'Avezac, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, tom. 3, p. 83. 1801.

captain also mentions thus early the Indian name "No-rumbega;" to which he gives about the same extent of country as to "La Terre Francaise," consequently including under this term the State of Maine."*

The enterprise of the fishermen and merchants of Dieppe, Honfleur, St. Malo, Nantes, La Rochelle, etc., commencing about 1504, was the introduction of a long series of undertakings of great political and social importance. The Bretons and Normans of France went over from the banks to the continent, from fishing to planting. They carried the race, the language, the religion, the customs, and also the traditions and songs of Western France to North-eastern America, where, for a long time, they outstripped the English, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards, and became for many years more influential than all their rivals.

As we shall show hereafter, they exerted a very important influence on the discovery and settlement of the State of Maine; which, as adjoining to the French settlements, was for a long time the battle-ground for the conflicting claims of the English and French.

I may point again to the remarkable circumstance already alluded to, that the French Normans may be said to have followed on the same track, or oceanic high-road, on which their ancestors, the Scandinavian Northmen, had entered; and that they advanced their settlements, like them, from Helluland in the north, along the coast of Markland, until they had reached Vinland.

* Ramusio, tom. 3, fol. 423. Compare, also, the translation of this discourse in Estancelin, *Recherches des voyages des Normands*, pp. 219, 223, 224. Paris, 1832.

5. AN ENGLISH VOYAGE TO THE NORTH-WEST, SAID TO HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN UNDER THE COMMAND OF SEBASTIAN CABOT AND SIR THOMAS PERT, IN 1517.

Richard Eden, the first English collector of travels and voyages, published in 1553 a translation of the "Universal Cosmographie," written in Latin by the German, Sebastian Munster.

In the dedication of this translation, addressed to the Duke of Northumberland, once Lord High Admiral under Henry VIII, Eden incidentally observes, that "King Henry VIII, in the eighth year of his reign, furnished and set forth certain shippes under the governaunce of Sebastian Cabot, and one Sir Thomas Pert; but that the faint hart of this latter mentioned person was the cause, that that voyage toke none effect."

This incidental remark of Eden is all the original evidence we have on this so-called expedition of Cabot in 1517, by which great discoveries are said to have been made under Henry VIII.

No original author of the time of Henry VIII. has alluded to this enterprise. Stow, in his Chronicle of England, though he mentions the first expedition of the Cabots in 1497, and other English maritime undertakings, has nothing about an enterprise in 1517. Neither does Lord Herbert, in his elaborate life and reign of Henry VIII, mention such an expedition. Nor does the well-informed Portuguese author, Antonio Galvano, who wrote his history of the discoveries of the world in 1555, and who accurately enumerates all the Spanish, Portuguese, English, and French expeditions up to that year, make any mention whatever of a voyage of Cabot in 1517.

Nevertheless, Hakluyt, Purchas, nay, nearly all the sub-

sequent authors down to the modern biographer of Cabot, Mr. Biddle, give credence to the statement of Eden, and have constructed upon his short and incidental remark a grand maritime undertaking, which they allege to have been executed by Cabot, though they greatly differ with respect to the region supposed to be visited.

Hakluyt connects the statement of Eden with an English voyage to the south,—the West India Islands and toward Brazil,*—mentioned by Herrera and Oviedo.

Herrera, under the date of 1519, relates that an English vessel appeared suddenly off Porto Rico, where her commander communicated with the Spaniards, and spoke to them about the route and object of his voyage.†

Oviedo, on the contrary, places this event off Porto Rico, in the year 1527.‡

Ramusio has given a translation of Oviedo, in which he erroneously puts the date of that event in 1517 instead of 1527, as it is given in all the original Spanish editions of Oviedo.

Hakluyt did not know of the statement of Herrera, and consulted only the translation of Ramusio, in which the date is erroneously given. Finding there 1517 mentioned as the year in which “the English ship was said to have appeared off Porto Rico,” and finding at the same time the above report of Eden about an expedition furnished by Henry VIII, Hakluyt thought that both expeditions were the same; and so he adopts and enters in his great work, “A voyage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, about the eighth year of King Henry VIII, to Brazil, St. Domingo, and San Juan de Porto Rico.”

* See Hakluyt, vol. 3, p. 591. Ed. London, 1800.

† See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

‡ Oviedo, Hist. General, lib. 19, cap. 13.

That this construction was founded on erroneous premises has been clearly shown by Mr. Biddle in chapter 14th of his Memoir, entitled, "Hakluyt's error with regard to the voyage of 1517."* He proves there that Herrera, in his date of 1519, and Ramusio, in the date of 1517, were mistaken; and that the date of Oviedo of 1527 is the true one, and should be adopted; and that, consequently, the appearance of an English vessel off Porto Rico in 1527 can have no connection with an English expedition said to have sailed in 1517.

Mr. Biddle proves further, that the report of the Spanish authors on the said English vessel, must be connected with a subsequent English expedition made in the year 1527, of which he speaks afterwards.

In destroying the theory of such an expedition of Cabot to Porto Rico and Brazil in 1517, adopted by many authors after Hakluyt, Mr. Biddle builds up his own theory of the voyage of 1517 mentioned by Eden, which has been adopted by many distinguished authors after him, as Humboldt, Tytler, and Asher. He thinks it certain, that an expedition in the year 1517 was made from England, and also that it was commanded by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot. But he is convinced that it went to the north-west; and he adopts the opinion, that it was in *this* expedition that Sebastian Cabot reached the latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and explored Hudson's Bay, and not in the expedition of 1498. To render this theory plausible, he constructs, in a most ingenious and inventive manner, a chain of hypotheses, which appear to me to have but slender support.

And first, it seems to me that Eden does not distinctly state that an expedition actually *sailed* from England. He says, that Henry VIII. "furnished and set forth certain shippes;" and then adds, "that this voyage *took none effect*,"

* See Biddle, Memoir, p. 110.

from the faint-heartedness of one of the originators of the voyage, Sir Thomas Pert. Mr. Biddle, thinking that the expedition *sailed*, gives to the words, "the voyage took none effect," the interpretation, that the object and aim of the voyage were not reached, because Sir Thomas Pert, in the decisive moment, showed a want of courage to go further with Cabot. But it appears to me, that the words "the voyage took none effect," might also signify, that the whole expedition failed from the beginning, and that it did not sail at all. Sir Thomas Pert may have shown "a faint heart" in the outset. Being a Vice-admiral, he was perhaps a wealthy man, and may at the beginning have favored the enterprise with his influence and money; but despaired at the eleventh hour of its success, and refused it his assistance.

But if we suppose that the expedition actually sailed, and that it reached the coast of America, the next question is, whether it is likely that Sebastian Cabot was one of the commanders. The dedication of Eden to the translation of Sebastian Munster's work appears so to state. But we will for the moment put this statement aside, and proceed to show the difficulties which we have to encounter, in order to bring Sebastian Cabot to England at the right time in the beginning of 1517.

That Cabot, in the year 1515, was still in Spain, and that he was in a very comfortable position there, we learn from Herrera and Peter Martyr. The first tells us, that Ferdinand gave him, in the said year, the title and salary of captain and cosmographer.* And the second relates, that he (Peter Martyr) had been sitting with Cabot as a member in the Council of the Indies, that Cabot was his good friend, and that he saw him often at his house. And further he says, that

* "Mando asentar salario—de Capitan y Cosmografo a Sebastian Gaboto." Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 1, cap. 12.

Cabot intended to try for Spain, what we now call a north-west passage; that Spanish vessels were fitting out for him; and that he probably would sail in the month of March, 1516, in the service of the king of Spain.*

Mr. Biddle admits this, and calls the position of Cabot in Spain a "dignified and important station."† We cannot, therefore, conceive why, occupying this distinguished position, he should have suddenly left Spain. No Spanish author tells us, that Cabot at this time, or shortly after, had left Spain. Peter Martyr, who so often speaks of him, gives no support to this supposed voyage of Cabot. Nor does Herrera; although in his great work he follows him in all his changes and enterprises, even furnishing the details of the correspondence which the king of Spain had with England, and especially with Lord Willoughby, in 1512, to induce Cabot to enter his service; and relating all the advantages and emoluments heaped upon him successively by the kings of Spain; as, for example, in 1512, his invitation from England, his title of captain, great salary, and residence at Seville; in 1515, his title and salary of captain and cosmographer, and membership in the Council of the Indies,—favours conferred by Ferdinand; in 1516, the fitting out of ships for him; in 1518, title, salary, and station of pilot major (chief of the hydrographic bureau),—granted by Charles V.

As no Spanish author speaks of his leaving Spain in the year 1516 or 1517, so neither does any English author inform us of his arriving in England, and entering the service of Henry VIII.

Mr. Biddle thinks that Cabot quietly remained in Spain until after the death of Ferdinand, which occurred on the 23d of January, 1516; and suggests that on the death of the

* Peter Martyr, *De rebus Oceanicis*, Dec. III, lib. 6.

† Biddle, l. c. p. 100.

king, Cabot, being a foreigner and comparatively a stranger, may have been viewed with dislike and jealousy by the Spaniards, and subjected to harsh treatment, which Ferdinand did not permit during his life.

After the death of Ferdinand and before Charles, the new king, arrived, there was an interregnum, and much misgovernment in Spain. It was certainly not a flourishing time for the "Spanish natives." On the contrary it is well known, that the native Spaniards were much oppressed during this period by the Belgians, and other foreign favorites of the new king, who resorted in great numbers to the kingdom. The native interest was not in the ascendant after Ferdinand's death. We hear at this time only the complaints of the native Spaniards, and of some of them leaving their country in disgust for the West Indies.*

But even if, during that interregnum, some foreigners may have left, Cabot would certainly have been one of the last. He has been described by every biographer, and also by his contemporaries, as a man of gentle and modest manners. He must have had many friends even among native Spaniards, and was useful to them by his knowledge and experience, and had no doubt a great and influential party in the Council of the Indies. None could expel him from this Council except for misdemeanor, of which Cabot was never accused, even by the bishop Fonseca; upon whom foreign authors have heaped reproaches without reason, and whom Mr. Biddle calls an "intriguer of infamous notoriety;" † thus leading us to infer that he may have been the cause of Cabot's return to England.

Cabot's friend, Peter Martyr, was also a foreigner; but we never find him complaining of "Spanish jealousy of foreign-

* See Robertson's Charles V, for the year 1516.

† Biddle, l. c. p. 102.

ers." On the contrary, at the very time when Cabot is supposed to have left Spain, in the autumn of 1516, Peter Martyr wrote a very submissive and respectful letter to Charles, in which he dedicated to him his first three decades.* He was, though a foreigner and of Italian extraction like Cabot, all the time quietly taking his seat in the Council of the Indies.

Cabot, with whom Peter Martyr sympathized in so many respects, shared probably his sentiments toward the new prince ; and probably, like Peter Martyr, so far from looking forward with despair to the expected and often announced arrival of Charles in Spain, was full of hope for promotion from this young and enterprising sovereign. That he rightly cherished such hopes, was proved soon after the arrival of Charles in 1518, by the promotion of Cabot. It appears therefore very improbable, that he should have left the country just at the time when so many in Spain were looking to this rising sun. He might well expect that he should find employment under the new king ; and in this he was not disappointed.

Mr. Biddle suggests, that the particular occasion for Cabot's "feeling slighted" and leaving Spain, was the preferment of the cosmographer, Andres de St. Martin, to the place of pilot major. Charles, in a letter dated Brussels the 18th of November, 1516, had commanded the bishop Fonseca, to "inquire into the capacity and fitness of the said Andres de St. Martin for the place of pilot major, which the said person had claimed." Mr. Biddle says that Cabot, feeling himself slighted by this proceeding, returned to England.

It would have been a hasty action on his part, to leave his dignified station because his sovereign took the liberty to

* See this dedicatory letter in Peter Martyr's "*De rebus Oceanicis*," at the beginning.

“*inquire*” whether a certain other person was fit for the place of pilot major. It would appear less so, if we were sure that Cabot at that time had applied for the station, and also that it was really conferred on Andres de St. Martin, who was himself a foreigner, from France. But both these points are very uncertain. Herrera says, that Andres de St. Martin, a few years after this, went out with Magellan as one of his pilots.* It is very improbable that a man, who held the office of pilot major in Spain, would leave that place and go out in a position so inferior. From the circumstance that Cabot really obtained the office of pilot major in 1518, it is probable, that the application of St. Martin in 1516 was rejected; and that from the beginning, the place was kept open for Cabot.†

Is it therefore probable, that Cabot should have “felt slighted” and left the country, when he had the best hopes of obtaining the desired position?

But if he actually left Spain—and Mr. Biddle agrees in this opinion—he could not have departed until the king’s letter, dated Brussels, the 18th Nov., 1516, which is supposed to have annoyed him so much, had become known in Spain. We must allow some weeks for the reception of the letter after its date; and several more for the contents to have reached Cabot, before he relinquished his office. To those who know the tedious and protracted forms which delay the settlement of official accounts in Spain, this time will not seem unreasonable for closing his affairs and transferring himself to England. We cannot, therefore, suppose that he could have arrived in England before the end of the year 1516.

* Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 4, cap. 9.

† Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, vol. 3, pp. 120, 121, where he enumerates all the pilot majors of Spain until Cabot leaves the place open from 1516–1518.

We can find no satisfactory reason why Cabot should have left a comfortable and dignified position in Spain, from which nobody intended to remove him, and in which he had a hopeful prospect of favor from the youthful sovereign, to go to England at that time. For we are expressly informed, that in 1512, "no account was made of him" in that country; and that the authorities had permitted him without regret, to enter the service of the king of Spain, considering it "a thing of little moment" to retain him.*

After his voyages of 1497 and 1498, Cabot had "received little encouragement from Henry VII; and Henry VIII. dismissed him in 1512 to Spain, as being of "no account." We cannot therefore believe, in the absence of all authentic information, that this king had changed his mind, and had invited him, in 1516, to return to England. Cabot himself, in his famous conversation with a distinguished gentleman, intimates no such thing. He only says, that finding, after his first voyages under Henry VII, no further patronage in England, he went over to Spain; and then, without mentioning any other invitation from England, *or any voyage in 1517*, he relates his further employments, and particularly his expedition to the River La Plata in 1526.†

But notwithstanding this, Mr. Biddle makes Cabot return to England, where, as I have showed, it was impossible for him to arrive before the end of 1516.

The expedition, of which he is said to have shared the command, is stated by Eden to have been "set forth" by Henry VIII, in the eighth year of his reign; which, reckoning from the time of its beginning, on the 22d of April, 1509, would be from the 22d of April, 1516, to the 22d of April, 1517.‡

* See the authorities for this in Biddle, l. c. p. 100.

† See Ramusio, vol. 1, fol. 374. Venetia, 1613.

‡ Lord Herbert, l. c. p. 2.

The expedition must, therefore, have been "set forth," at the latest, in the month of March, or beginning of April, 1517; and this leaves to Cabot only about three months for persuading Henry VIII. to a new undertaking, and for all the preparations necessary for such an expedition. This rapidity of action rendered indispensable by this brief term, and particularly the fact, that there was then no great choice of ships in England ready furnished for service, are strong circumstances against this voyage.

Mr. Biddle,* speaking elsewhere of a subsequent expedition, and wishing to prove that a letter written by Mr. Thorne to Henry VIII, at the beginning of 1527, could have had no influence in promoting an expedition, which left the Thames on the 20th of May of that year, says it is "absurd to suppose, that four or five months would have been a sufficient space of time for forwarding such a letter to the king; for considering and adopting the suggestions of this letter; for resolving on the course of the intended expedition; for selecting the commanders, and the vessels suitable for such an enterprise; and for completing all the other arrangements so as to admit of this early departure." And yet, in this case, he thinks four months and a half quite sufficient for a letter, written by the Emperor Charles V. in Brussels on the 18th of November, 1516, to be carried to Spain, and forwarded to the proper authorities there; for Cabot to take it into consideration, and to go through all the preliminaries for leaving his important office; for settling his accounts; for his returning to England without invitation, and making all preparations necessary for a long and expensive expedition to a remote, savage, and little known country, so as to admit of his departure in the month of March, or in the beginning of April.

* Memoir, p. 200.

Eden, the only authority for this voyage, does not say to what region it was destined, nor at what part of the new world, if any, it arrived. Neither Spanish nor Portuguese authors mention the arrival of these ships on coasts known to them. Mr. Biddle thinks that they *must* have gone out to the savage regions of the north-west. He strives to make this probable by referring, amongst other things, to the well-known letter, written in 1527 by Master Robert Thorne, addressed to Henry VIII, to urge him to renew the search for a north-west passage. This letter alludes, in the most general terms, to the discovery of Newfoundland made "of late by his Grace's servants," and says, that "the king has taken in hand" the northern discovery, and has made proof of it, without finding the commodity thereby, which he had expected.*

Mr. Biddle thinks, that these expressions cannot allude to any other voyage than that which, according to Eden, was "set forth under Cabot and Pert;" and that, consequently, this voyage must have gone to and reached the north-western countries. I admit that all this is possible, if this voyage took place at all. But Thorne might have used these expressions in the same manner if no such voyage had been undertaken, having in mind no other than the expeditions to Newfoundland under Henry VII, though seemingly attributing them to the time of Henry VIII. The "king," Henry VIII, might be said to have taken northern discovery in hand, when the "king," Henry VII, commenced it. The Englishmen who discovered Newfoundland under Henry VII, were still living under Henry VIII, and were his servants and subjects; and so without adopting a north-western voyage of 1517, it is quite true, that England and her king had not

* See this letter in Hakluyt, "Divers Voyages." Edition of Hakluyt Society, p. 27 seq.

found, in the expeditions before made to the north-west, all the advantages expected.

The evidences which Mr. Biddle adduces to prove that an expedition was undertaken and executed to the north-west in 1517, appear to me extremely weak. But they are much weaker in proving that Cabot was concerned in any such voyage.

Mr. Biddle also asserts,—and this without having any authority or even the slightest probability for it,—that it was on this voyage of 1517, and not on the voyages of 1497 or 1498, that Cabot reached the latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.; and he further says, that it was on this voyage of 1517 that Cabot entered into Hudson's Bay, “and gave English names to sundry places therein.”

The only thing which induces him to think so is the date, “the 11th of June,” which Ramusio gives, as does also Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in a quotation from a map of Cabot,* as the time when Cabot reached the said latitude, and which does not agree, he says: 1. with the date of the 24th of June, on which he is said, by the best authorities, to have reached the continent of America in 1497; nor 2. with the date of “the month of July,” which, by Peter Martyr,† and Gomara‡ is said to have been the time of his great struggle with the ice in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. Mr. Biddle therefore argues, that since the date, 11th of June, does not agree either with the date of the voyage of 1497, or with that of 1498, there must have been another voyage made by Cabot, to which that date may belong; and that must have been the voyage of 1517.

To this reasoning we may answer as follows: All the au-

* See Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. 3, p. 16. London, 1600.

† See Peter Martyr, *De orbe novo*, p. 232. Parisii, 1587.

‡ See Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, fol. 20. Saragossa, 1553.

thorities referred to, Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Ramusio, differ only with respect to the month, and not the year or the voyage, in which the ice and the high latitude were reached. They all ascribe these events to Cabot's voyage made by command of Henry VII. in 1498, and have not the slightest allusion to a voyage made by command of Henry VIII. in 1517.

And even their difference with respect to the month is perhaps only apparent.

The words of Cabot's map, according to Gilbert, run thus: Cabot affirmed "that he sayled very fare westward, with a quarter north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, the eleventh of June, until he came to the Septentrional latitude of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$," etc. From this it appears, that the date of the 11th of June may as well be given to his sail along the coast of Labrador, as to his arrival there. He does not say that he came *on* the 11th of June to $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, according to my interpretation, may as well be quoted as giving the time of Cabot's arrival in this high latitude to the month of July.

In regard to Ramusio, he quotes, probably from memory, a letter which Cabot had written him many years before ("gia molti anni sono"). Writing from memory about an old letter, received many years before, he might easily err with respect to the exact date.

Moreover, Peter Martyr, who often conversed with Cabot and had him at his house, may well be credited for his date of the month of July. And Gomara, who was a contemporary of Cabot, and lived and wrote in the same country in which Cabot himself lived for a long time, is not an unworthy witness for the month of July.

The map of Cosa, made from Cabot's first charts, so far as the north-east coast of America is concerned, may be cited,

if not for the date of July, at least for the voyage of 1498. This map, made in 1500, shows this east coast as high as $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and even beyond it.

And last, but not least, the 11th of June appears, for still other reasons, to be a very questionable, if not an impossible date, for a voyage in the high latitude claimed for it.

Mr. Biddle says, that it was on occasion of this voyage of 1517, that Cabot arrived through Hudson's Strait at Hudson's Bay, discovered open water, and sailed into it, giving English "names to sundry places therein." He relates further, on the authority of Ramusio, that Cabot was there "sanguine of success," and hopeful of going directly to Catayo, "if he had not been overruled by the timidity of his associates," and particularly by the faint heart, nay, "malignity" of the master of the other ship,—according to Mr. Biddle, Sir Thomas Pert,—who would go no further.*

If Cabot had been in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., near the entrance of Hudson's Bay, he would have been under the arctic circle, in the midst of the so-called "Frozen Strait," or "Fox Channel," near Southampton Island. Now I believe that it is without precedent in the whole history of maritime discovery, for a navigator to sail unobstructed, cheered by the greatest hope of success, and everywhere surrounded by open water, on the 11th of June, old style, in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., in Fox Channel, north of Hudson's Strait. In these regions,—the coldest and most obstructed of all the arctic regions,—the 11th of June, even according to the old style, is only the end of winter; and at that time navigation there is impossible.

I will remind the reader of the state of things encountered in these regions by some of the old navigators, at dates not far from those assigned to this voyage of Cabot:

Hudson, in 1610, passed the entrance of Hudson's Strait

* Biddle, l. c. p. 117-119.

after the beginning of July, and arrived at the entrance of Hudson's Bay in the beginning of August.

Bylot, in 1615, could not reach those regions into which Mr. Biddle puts Cabot on the 11th of June, before the 12th of July, O. S., and then he was still two degrees south of $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N.

Hawkbridge, in 1616, reached the same regions in the beginning of August. On the 10th of that month, O. S., he was at Seahorse Point at not quite 65° N., and could not go higher than this latitude.

James, in 1631, was not free of ice before the 3d of July; and then began to approach the opening of Hudson's Bay.

Parry, in the year 1823, was beset by ice in the northern part of Fox Channel during the entire month of July, N. S.; and then in the midst of a broad and thick field of ice was floated down the entire length of Fox Channel.

By comparing still other dates, if necessary, I could render it certain, that a visit to those localities "on the 11th of June" must be rejected as impossible, whatever written or printed authorities may affirm; and that, consequently, the whole structure built upon that date by Mr. Biddle, must fall to the ground. I am convinced, that modern as well as ancient navigators would think it a strange thing, that poor Sir Thomas Pert should be reproached with "timidity," a "faint heart," nay, with a particular "malignity," because, on the 11th of June, he did not like to sail beyond $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., in Fox Channel, which, at that time, is a perfectly unbroken wilderness of ice.

Mr. Biddle, and the authorities quoted by him, and the authors who follow him, tell us that Cabot, after returning from his discovery of Hudson's Strait to England, found there no support for a renewed effort. The enterprise was considered "a failure." The horrible "sweating-sickness" which

raged in England from July to December, 1517, and "the attention which the king paid to the affairs of the continent, left no time to think of the prosecution of a precarious enterprise."* They further say, that Cabot, "languishing in inactivity," went over again to Spain, cheered by the new and more auspicious aspect of affairs; and that he was received there with open arms and made pilot major.†

I think that these suggestions contain more than one improbability and contradiction.

That a discovery of Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay, if it had been made in 1517, should have been considered in England as "a failure," is so contrary to all probability, that it scarcely needs a reply. It is quite certain, that if the discovery had really been made, it would have been trumpeted through the country; or at least have been communicated to the king's ear, as a most precious secret. Everybody would have said that the thing had been done, that the short route to Cathay had really been found, that only one effort more was wanting to arrive on the "backside of the northern countries." Henry VIII. would certainly have found time to give attention to such a discovery, which, if true, might have made him a most powerful sovereign. And the "sweating-sickness" which ended in December, 1517, about the time when Cabot must have returned, would certainly not have hindered him from fitting out another expedition in the spring of 1518.

To suppose that the expedition of 1517, with the discoveries ascribed to it, should have been considered as "a failure," is in plain contradiction to what is said in Ramusio of Cabot's own views, when he reached the above latitude; of his cheerfulness and hope; his being "sanguine of success;"

* Biddle, l. c. p. 120.

† Ibid.

and his conviction that he "both could and would have gone to Cathay," if it had not been for the revolt of his crew, or, as Hakluyt and Biddle think, for the "faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert." From these views of Cabot it might reasonably be inferred, that Henry VIII, a shrewd man, would have sent back the "sanguine" adventurer as soon as possible to the same regions, to finish the business; and would have kept at home his former "faint-hearted" companion, the often-mentioned Sir Thomas Pert.

If Hudson's Strait and Bay had been seen free and open by Cabot in 1517, Robert Thorne, in his letter to Henry VIII. in 1527, to encourage him in a north-western enterprise, would certainly not have made use of such general and faint expressions regarding a "discovery of the Newfoundland," as we have quoted above. He would, no doubt, have mentioned the names given by Cabot in Hudson's Strait; his chart of the Strait; and would have adopted a much more demonstrative and decisive tone.

As to this supposed invitation from the Emperor Charles to Cabot, and this alleged correspondence about his recall to Spain in 1517, we have not the slightest indication of it in the old authors; though they speak in detail about such a correspondence, in which Ferdinand invites him to Spain, in 1512; while such negotiations would have been far more necessary now, when Cabot is supposed to have seen opened before him so great a thing as "the way to Cathay."

What we know for certain is, that Cabot, after having been nominated pilot major in 1518, was occupied in Spain with the quiet duties of his station; that is to say, examining pilots, signing their patents and instructions, revising and arranging charts, and attending to the transactions regarding the boundary between Spain and Portugal. We find no evidence whatever that he was anxious to return to that region,

where he is said to have "seen the way to Cathay openly spread out before him;" or that the Emperor Charles invited or ordered him to make a new attempt in that direction; as he certainly would have done, if, in 1517, Cabot had made the discovery ascribed to him by Mr. Biddle. When Cabot's personal friend, Gomez, is sent out in 1525, Cabot gives no advice that he should be sent to Hudson's Strait. And when he himself goes out again in 1526, we see him sail to the south of America, and not to Hudson's Strait in the north; which, if he had seen it in 1517, he must have believed to be at least as good a route as Magellan's Strait.

The events and proceedings here referred to are so contrary to what we should expect from Cabot, after his supposed discoveries in 1517, that it is quite evident that these discoveries could not have been made.

The results of these observations may be summed up in the following points:

There is no satisfactory proof that Cabot really left Spain in the year 1516 or 1517.

It seems to be inconceivable, that a dignified councillor of the Indies, having left his seat in Seville without any palpable reason, and having either actually shown to England, the rival of Spain, or at least attempted to show, the short route to Cathay, for which everybody was then searching, should have been rejected in England, and received back into Spain with open arms, with honor and reward.

It appears to be much more probable from all we know, to suppose that Cabot, after 1512, remained quietly in Spain, and continued his fortunate career, from one high station to another, in the offices of that country.

Against this opinion we have the single statement of Eden, incidentally made in the dedication of his book, where he speaks of an English voyage "set forth" in the year 1517,

“under the governance of Sebastian Cabot.” If Eden, a most worthy author, really *wrote* thus, *he* certainly must have believed, that Cabot had been engaged in this expedition. No attempt that we know of has been made, by diplomatic or bibliographical researches, to render it doubtful, whether Eden indeed wrote what he is said to have written.

It is proved by good evidence and admitted by all parties, that if any expedition was made in 1517, it cannot have been, as Hakluyt supposes, the expedition which the Spaniards saw off Porto Rico.

It is just as much out of the question to suppose, that, if an expedition was made, it could, on the 11th of June, have reached the waters in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay in $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., according to the representations of Mr. Biddle.

It would appear more probable, that, if an expedition sailed for the western regions in 1517, it must have reached some more southern part of the east coast. All the great expeditions for the west, made contemporaneously or subsequently, were directed to the coasts of the United States; namely, the Spanish expeditions of Ayllon, in 1520-1526; the French expedition of Verrazano, 1524; of Gomez, 1525; and the English of 1527; of all which we shall treat in subsequent pages.

I do not pretend to have found the true explanation of the expedition, supposed to have been made in the year 1517. But the difficulties and questions suggested above with regard to the explanation of Mr. Biddle and others, are, I think, worthy of consideration; and so long as they are not solved, we must put down this undertaking as at least doubtful.

[NOTE.—The very able arguments of Mr. Biddle and Dr. Kohl on opposite sides of the question, still leave us in doubt whether Cabot undertook a voyage to the North American coast in 1517, or not. It appears to us

that the weight of argument inclines to the side of Dr. Kohl. It is strange that such contradictory statements should exist of important transactions occurring within fifty years from the time of the writers who reported them. The same obscurity hangs over the domestic concerns of the principal nations, as over their foreign voyages; which indicates great carelessness or indifference in the preservation of facts. We find a document of the time of Edward VI, in the State Paper Office at London, which shows, that even during Cabot's life, in 1551, he was in danger of losing certain rights by the loss of evidence. It says: "Touching Sebastian Cabot's matter, concerning which the Venitian ambassador has also written, he has recommended the same to the Seignory, and in their presence delivered to one of their Secretaries, Baptista Ramusio, whom Cabot put in trust, such evidences as came to his hands. The Seignory were well pleased that one of their subjects, by service and virtue, should deserve the council's good-will and favor; and although this matter is over fifty years old, and by the death of men, decaying of houses, and perishing of writings, as well as his own absence, it were hard to come to any assured knowledge thereof; they have commanded Ramusio to ensearch with diligence any way and knowledge possible, that may stand to the said Sebastian's profit, and obtaining of right."

The various reports we have of stirring events which occurred in the brilliant contemporaneous reigns of Francis I, Charles V, and Henry VIII, cease to make us wonder that Sir Walter Raleigh should burn his MS. history, seeing the contradictions which occurred under his own observation; or that Sir Robert Walpole should have instructed his sons to "read anything but history, for that is sure to be false."—ED.]

APPENDAGE TO CHAPTER VI.

CHARTS OF THE FIRST FRENCH DISCOVERIES IN "TERRE NEUVE."

1. ON MAP, NO. 11, OF NEW FRANCE, COMPOSED BY THE ITALIAN COSMOGRAPHER, JACOMO DI GASTALDI, IN 1550.

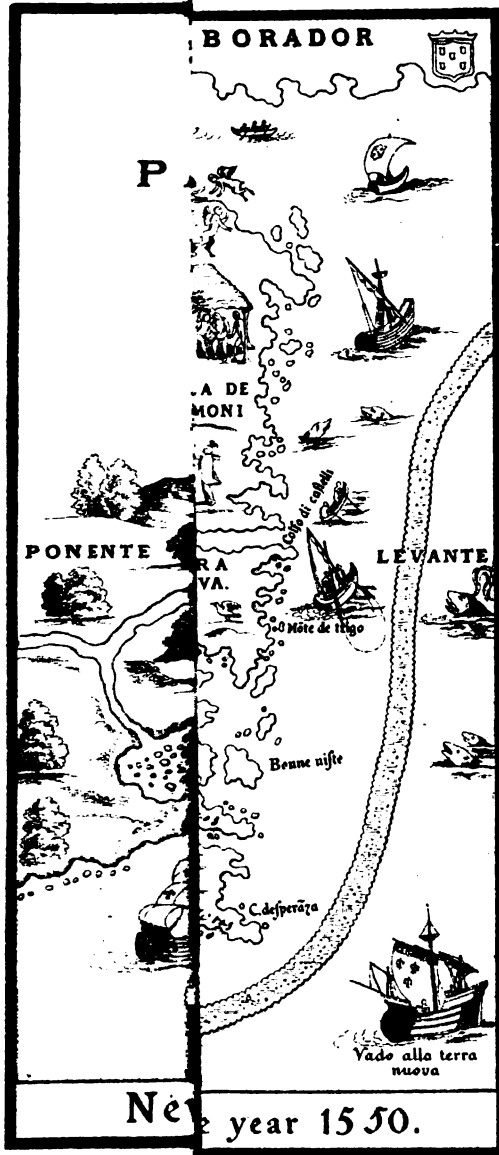
THE celebrated collector of early voyages, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, has given in the third volume of his great work, besides a general map of the entire continent of North America (p. 455), some maps of particular parts of it; for example, of Brazil (p. 427) and of New France (p. 424). Of the latter we give a copy in our map, No. 11.

On the history of these maps the following remarks are made by Ramusio, in the discourse prefixed to his third volume, addressed to his excellent and learned friend, Hieronimo Fracastoro.*

Fracastoro, he says, had urged him in a letter to compose four or five tables (tavoli), depicting "in imitation of Ptolemy," all the countries and coasts of the new world, so far as they had become known, and in the manner in which the Spanish pilots and captains had traced them on their charts. He adds, that Fracastoro had sent to him at the same time all the necessary materials, which he had received from the illustrious imperial historiographer, Gonzalo Oviedo; and that, being willing to comply with so reasonable a request, he had directed Master Jacomo di Gastaldi, an excellent cosmographer,† to make first a reduced map of the whole of the new world, and then to divide it into four parts. Gastaldi did this with the utmost care and diligence; so that now all industrious readers may see and learn how far, by the help of his Excellency Fracastoro, these things had become known to the world. "Because they know in Spain and also in France," Ramusio goes on to say to his friend, "the great pleasure and interest which you take in this new part of the world, of which you your-

* See this discourse in Ramusio, vol. 3, p. 2, seq. Venetia, 1556.

† Jacomo di Gastaldi (also called Jacopo Gastaldo) was a native of Villafranca in Piedmont. He had made maps and observations for an edition of the work of Ptolemy published in the year 1548 by Andrea Mattioli in Venice.



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self repeatedly, with your own hands, have made designs; so all the literary men of those countries send every day to you some new discovery made there, and brought to them by pilots or captains coming from those parts. Amongst these, particularly, is the above-mentioned illustrious Gonzalo Oviedo from the Island of Spagniola, who every year presents you with some new-made chart. The same is also done by some excellent Frenchmen, who have sent you from Paris reports of New France, together with several draughts, which will be put in this volume in their place."

Ramusio then says, that he had introduced these maps, such as they were, not because he thought them to be perfect and complete, but because he wished to satisfy the desire of Italian students, entertaining the hope that, in some time to come, they would be improved. He concludes his discourse with these words: "The benevolent readers may take the little which I have the great pleasure to present to them, and may be sure, that if something better had come to my hands, I should have felt a much greater pleasure in giving it to them. And this is all that I have to say about my newly constructed geographical maps."

The discourse of Ramusio is dated, "Venice, 20th June, 1553," at the time when he probably had collected all the materials for his third volume. As this would take him some time, we may put the date of the composition of these maps at about 1550, though they were not published by Ramusio until 1556, the date of the first edition of his third volume.

The general map of America, here given by Ramusio, is a very accurate production, the result of the study of Spanish original maps and reports of the time. It is one of the best, most complete, and correctly printed of the maps published near the middle of the sixteenth century. It has even the latest discoveries, made in 1542 by the expedition of Cabrillo to California, as high up as about 40° N. I have, however, not given a copy of this map, because it does not contain much that is connected with our subject.

The map of New France, of which I give here a reduced fac-simile, concerns us more nearly. It represents Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, a part of the St. Lawrence, and in the west a fragment of the coast of Maine. It has no indications of longitude and latitude, and no scale of miles. Ramusio gives this map, and also his other four special maps, as illustrative of a short description of the countries and coasts discovered by the French, to which he gives the title: "Discourse of a great French sea-captain of Dieppe, on the navigations made to the West Indies, called New France, from the 40° to the 47°

N." He does not mention the name of his "great French sea-captain;" but it is for several reasons certain, that the famous Jean Parmentier of Dieppe, who in 1529 made a long voyage to Sumatra and other countries, is meant; and it is pretty certain, that the discourse was written by Pierre Crignon, Parmentier's companion and eulogist.* We infer from the contents of the discourse, that it must have been written in 1539, though not printed until 1556. The author, Crignon, enumerates all the old French sea-captains known to have gone out on discoveries to New France before Cartier; namely, Jean Denys, Thomas Aubert, and Giovanni de Verrazano. He says, that thirty-five years ago the Bretons and Normans commenced their navigation to those parts; that about thirty-three years ago, Jean Denys made his voyage; and that fifteen years ago, Verrazano was on that coast. The Bretons and Normans commenced their voyages to New France, as is generally thought, in 1504; Jean Denys sailed in 1506; Verrazano in 1524. Thus all these statements concur in fixing 1539 as the year in which the discourse was composed.

A short time before, in 1534 and 1535, Jean Cartier had made two of his remarkable expeditions to New France. But no mention whatever is made of these voyages by our author. This extraordinary omission of these most important French discoveries in a discourse, in which all the previous explorations are mentioned, is hard to account for. Was the discourse perhaps written in some distant part of the world, which the news from France had not reached? Or did the author really write his discourse before Cartier's voyage in 1534, and soon after Parmentier's expedition of 1529? and did he, in a later year, 1539, when he wrote his discourse, alter the above-mentioned dates, forgetting then to include Cartier's discoveries?

However this may have been, the appended map of New France agrees very well with the contents of the discourse. It gives the regions there described, and in the manner in which they are described, and yet has no trace whatever of Cartier's discoveries. It appears decidedly to have been constructed upon materials and after originals which existed before the time of Cartier. Perhaps the chart of Verrazano was in part used in its construction. But Verrazano saw all the coasts here depicted, only on a very rapid sail. He could not, for instance, have on his chart any trace of a great river in the interior of Canada. It seems evident, that the author of our map must have used some delineations still older than those of Verrazano; perhaps a copy

* See for this R. H. Major's Introduction to his work, "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," p. vi.

of the map of the French captain, Jean Denys, said to have been made in the year 1506; in the same manner as he evidently used old Portuguese maps for the country of Labrador and the higher latitudes. The map, upon the whole, appears to give us that cartographical picture of New France, which, having been collected from several early sources, was current in France *before* Cartier; from which circumstance the map has great interest for our subject. It may serve as a substitute for the lost maps of Denys, and some other old French navigators.

The map is all the more interesting, because the eminent cosmographer Fracastoro, so often mentioned in the history of the discovery of America, had so much to do with it, and partly procured the materials for its construction. And, indeed, since Fracastoro employed himself in his old age in the country-seat near Verona, to which he had retreated, in composing maps, and "used to lay down upon globes the new discoveries" as they came to his knowledge, and then liberally communicated all that he had collected to his protégé Ramusio; we may conclude that all the maps contained in Ramusio are, to a certain extent, the productions of Fracastoro;* though they were completed and prepared for publication by Gastaldi.

I will now endeavor to give an analysis of this map.

In the north, the map shows a coast running for a long way east and west with the name "*Terra de Labrador*," and with the Portuguese arms. It is the same country which we have seen, on our former maps, with the same configuration; and is, probably, our present Greenland.

On the south of this country, separated from it by a broad strait (Davis' Strait), there lies a large group of great and small islands. The northernmost of these, named "*Isola de demoni*" (the island of demons), is separated from the rest by a long narrow strait, on which, at the eastern entrance, is written "*golfo di castelli*" (the gulf of the castles),—the old name usually given to the Strait of Belle Isle, which separates Newfoundland from our present Labrador. From this it is evident, that the large "island of demons" is intended to represent a portion of our present Labrador; and the group of smaller islands at the south, our Newfoundland. The name "*Terra nuova*" is given to one of the larger of these islands. The "island of demons" is unmistakably designated by the small devils flying about it. This

* Fracastoro lived only a few weeks after the date of the above-mentioned discourse, addressed to him by Ramusio on the 20th of June, 1553. He died on the 8th of August, 1553, at the age of seventy-one years. See Tiraboschi, *Storia de la Letteratura Italiana*, tom. 7, pp. 1450, 1451.

name is very often found on old maps, applied to a small island at the entrance of Davis' Strait.

Along the east coast of "Terra nuova," we find some names attached to it by the Portuguese navigators after the time of the Cortereals: "Monte de trigo,"* "Bonne viste," "Baccalaos," "C. de speranzo," and far south-west, the famous "C. de ras" (Cape Race).

The distance from Cape Race to the eastern entrance of the Strait of Belle Isle (Golfo de Castelli) is about six degrees of latitude, or about four hundred English miles in a direct line. This measure may supply the want in this map of a scale of miles and degrees.

West of Newfoundland we find on our map the Gulf of St. Lawrence; not broad and spacious enough at its mouth, but with a northern channel far too long and large. This northern channel, running down from Davis' and Hudson's Straits, is however very remarkable. It is an indication of our Ungava Bay, into which a Portuguese explorer had probably looked, without discovering that it was closed at the south.

Far to the west lies a large country, called "Parte incognite." From this region a large river runs in an eastern direction, which undoubtedly represents the first notions which Bretons and Normans had gained respecting the great river of Canada. The river has two mouths, with a great island between them, perhaps the island of Anticosti. Several other rivers run into it. The whole of this river-system looks as if it had been drawn by an Indian on the sand for Denys, perhaps, or Aubert, or some other Frenchman, by whom it had been transferred to paper.

From Newfoundland, the southern coast of the continent runs east and west. A small part of it in the east, with the name of Cape Breton attached to its southern headland, is cut off from the rest by an arm of the sea,—our island of Cape Breton and Gut of Canso. The country extending west is called "Terra de Nurumbega," which, by the shore line, is about five hundred miles long, and ends in a rectangular cape,—doubtless Nova Scotia and Cape Sable.

Nova Scotia is represented as having three large ports on its south coast; one at the west, filled with many small islands, called "Port du Refuge" (the harbor of retreat); another named "Port Royal;" and the easternmost, "Flora." It is difficult to identify these names with modern harbors. The deepest and largest bays on this south coast are: the harbor of Halifax, Margaret's Bay, and Malone Bay; and pos-

* This name and its position at no great distance south of the "Golfo di Castelli" render it certain, that Kunstmann is wrong in charging the author of this map with a mistake in placing where he does the name "Golfo di Castelli." See Kunstmann, *Die Entdeckung America's*, p. 96. Compare our map of Homem, No. 21.

sibly these were meant, having been often visited by the fishermen and coasters of Brittany and Normandy. They may, perhaps, have been surveyed by Verrazano, and drawn on his charts. Here the name, "La Nuova Francia," is written in very large letters, indicating probably that this name is meant for the entire country. The name, "Terra de Nurumbega," is written in smaller letters, and appears to be attached only to the peninsula of Nova Scotia. Crignon, however, the author of the discourse which this map is intended to illustrate, gives to this name a far greater extent. He says: "Going beyond the cape of the Bretons, there is a country contiguous to this cape, the coast of which trends to the west a quarter south-west to the country of Florida, and runs along for a good five hundred leagues; which coast was discovered fifteen years ago by Master Giovanni da Verrazano in the name of the king of France and of Madame la Regente; and this country is called by many "La Francese," and even by the Portuguese themselves; and its end is toward Florida under 78° W., and 38° N. The inhabitants of this country are a very pleasant, tractable, and peaceful people. The country is abounding with all sorts of fruit. There grow oranges, almonds, wild grapes, and many other fruits of odoriferous trees. The country is named by the inhabitants, "Nurumbega;" and between it and Brazil is a great gulf, in which are the islands of the West Indies, discovered by the Spaniards."* From this it would appear that, at the time of the discourse, the entire east coast of the United States, as far as Florida, was designated by the name of Nurumbega. Afterwards, this name was restricted to New England; and, at a later date, it was applied only to Maine, and still later to the region of the Penobscot.

In the west of Nova Scotia there is a large and broad bay, probably the entrance to the Bay of Fundy. Further west we come to the coast of Maine, at once recognized by its characteristic feature,—a long chain of small islands; and then to another bay filled with islands, which I take to be our present Passamaquoddy Bay. It is here called "Angoulesme" (Angoulême), a name often used by the French discoverers. Into this bay a river runs from the north (the St. Croix), which the author of this map supposes to be a branch of the great river of the north. So much for the coast-line.

The interior of these countries is filled with objects and pictures partly imaginary and partly real; with scenes of Indian life, and birds and other animals moving about among the trees. The great group of islands (Terra nuova) has but few trees, thus answering to the old

* See this description of Nurumbega in Ramusio, vol. 3, fol. 423 F.

Scandinavian denomination of "Helluland" (land of the flat stones). On the contrary, the country of Nova Scotia (Terra de Nurumbega) and Maine is described as full of large trees and thick forests, thus answering to the "Markland" (the land of the woods) of the old Scandinavians.

Among the animals on the continent we see, now and then, a large bear or a running rabbit; and on the islands of Newfoundland various sorts of land- and water-fowl.

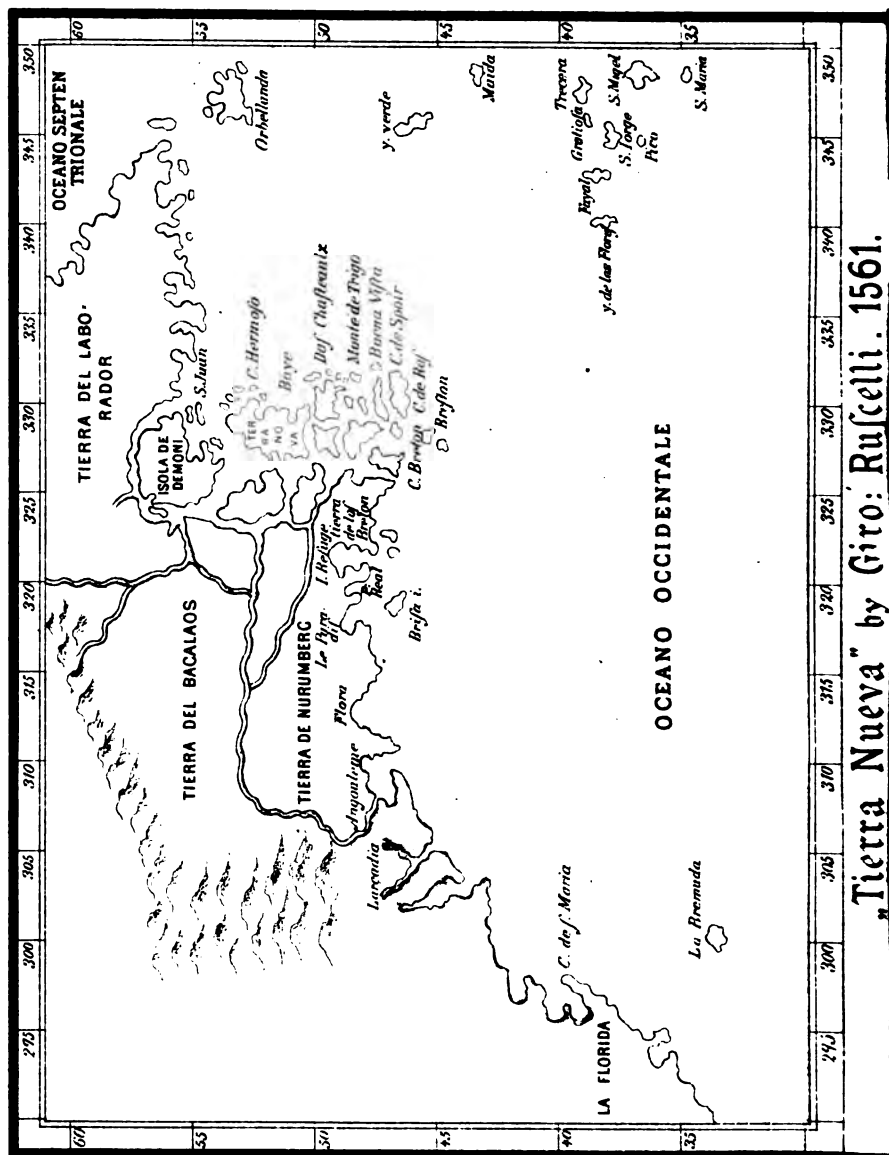
These scenes from the life of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, and of the Abnakis of Maine, are as pleasant, peaceful, and agreeable, as the Indians themselves are represented in the discourse of the great French captain.* Some of them are seen sitting by the shore, embracing each other, and admiring nature. Some appear to be sleeping; others conversing about their affairs under the roofs of their huts. Some are hunting the bear, or bearing a good-sized deer. Little children amuse themselves with shooting at birds. Some have hung up their fish between two trees, just as the traveler sometimes sees done at the present day in the west of Canada. Cheerful groups are walking leisurely or dancing on the turf. No scenes of violence or destruction anywhere appear; no signs of cannibalism, depicted so dreadfully on many old maps of South America. In the foreground near Cape Race a cross appears, surmounted by a crown, denoting possession taken by some one of the Christian powers of Europe.

In short, everything is represented in accordance with the descriptions and views of the great French captain Parmentier, of the amiable Italian cosmographer Fracastoro, and also of the contemporary French, who are well known to have been friendly to the Indians of Canada, and disposed to keep on good terms with them.

In the front of all these coasts and countries, winding like a snake, there runs a long and narrow sand-bank; denoting, as I think, the fishing-grounds of these regions, and the extent of the right to use them claimed by the French fishermen.

In the centre of this bank, and south of Cape Breton and the Gut of Canso, there appears a square figure called "Isola della rena"—better, della arena—(the sandy island). It is at the same distance from the coast, and in the same position as the present "Sable Island," long ago known to, and dreaded by, the Portuguese and French fishermen. The French (or Portuguese) had left here some swine for the assistance of their wrecked mariners, and these swine had so rapidly increased, that they swarmed through the whole island.

* "Gli habitatori di questa terra sono gente trattabili, amichevoli e piacevoli."



"Tierra Nueva" by Giro: Ruscelli. 1561.

The sea on this map, according to the description of Cabot, is full of sea-dogs, seals, spouting whales, cod, and other fish. Indians in their canoes, French and Portuguese in their large ships and boats, are busy in catching them. In the south-eastern corner of the map a vessel appears with the French lilies upon the sails, and the motto, "vado alla terra nuova" (I go to the new country). A similar French vessel is sailing, in the south-west section of the map, along the coast of Maine. In the high north toward Labrador, there is another ship with the Portuguese arms on her sails.

The results of the examination of this highly interesting map, from the time preceding Cartier, may be summed up thus:

The coast of Maine was known to the great French captain Parmentier, and his reporter Crignon; to Ramusio, Fracastoro, and their Italian contemporaries; and to the French, before Cartier. It was included by them under the name of "Terra de Nurumbega;" and was designated on their maps by the numerous islands, which constitute its distinguishing feature. Their fishing-grounds were claimed to be co-extensive with this coast, and they knew at least one of its harbors, spacious and filled with islands, Passamaquoddy Bay, to which they gave the name of "Angoulesme." They were also acquainted with the entrance of the Bay of Fundy. The French ships came often in sight of this coast. Beyond it toward the south-west, their fishermen did not often go, and knew but little.

2. ON MAP, No. 12, OF "TERRA NUEVA" BY GIROLAMO RUSCELLI, 1561.

Girolamo Ruscelli was a learned Italian, a "Philologus," from Viterbo, who lived partly in Rome, partly in Venice, the two great Italian centers for the study of cosmography. He was a contemporary of Giacomo di Gastaldi, and is, by some, called "Gastaldi's successor." He composed several linguistic and literary works, and published his well-known translation of Ptolemy, in 1561, at Venice, where the works of Gastaldi and Ramusio had for the most part been issued. Ruscelli died in that city in the year 1569.

Ruscelli added to his Italian Ptolemy a work with the title "*Espositioni e introductioni universali sopra tutta la geografia di Tolomeo*" (Universal expositions and introductions to the entire Geography of Ptolemy), which contains remarks on mathematical geography, and the art of drawing maps and charts; also a series of maps, delineating all the countries of the world. I give here No. XXXII. of these maps, to which the author has given the title: "Tierra Nueva." He comprises

under this name the following countries: "Tierra del Labrador," "Tierra del Bacalaos," and "Tierra de Nurumberg," and nearly the whole east coast of the United States, as far down as "La Florida," in about 40° N.

He quotes no authorities for his map; but it is evident that he used the same sources, as Gastaldi had used for his map of 1550, which, as I have shown, were very ancient, taken probably from the first sketches and charts brought home from "Terre Neuve" by the French adventurers and fishermen. Perhaps also Ruscelli simply copied the work of his countryman and friend Gastaldi, leaving out now and then a name, or changing it, and adding here and there another. I furnish this map particularly to show, that the system of Gastaldi, as contained in Ramusio, did not remain isolated, but found a contemporaneous response, and was copied by others. For the greater part of the contents of this map, I may refer to what I have said on the map of Gastaldi, No. 11.

Labrador, Newfoundland, the great river of Canada, and the several harbors of Nova Scotia, are all drawn and named by Ruscelli in the same manner as by Gastaldi.

The harbor of "Angoulême" (Passamaquoddy Bay) has also the same form. At the south-west of it, Ruscelli places another pretty broad inlet, probably Penobscot Bay. The coast runs down with a bend to a prominent pointed cape, called "C. de S. Maria" (probably Cape Cod). I have before observed (p. 50), that the name "C. de S. Maria" had been given by the Spaniards to another cape on our coast, probably Cape Ann; but by the later map-makers the same name is sometimes applied to Cape Cod.

But I find on this map an entirely new name—"Larcadia"—which I have not observed on any prior map. It is a name of Indian origin; and was probably applied by French fishermen to the coast south-west of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is well known that this name, which in the beginning had no definite limits, was afterwards restricted by the French to Nova Scotia and its vicinity; including also a part of the present State of Maine. The name is variously written, "L'Arcadie," "L'Accadie," "la Cadie," and otherwise. On the map under discussion the name stands on the coast of Maine exactly in the midst between Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Bays. "The word is said to be derived from the Indian 'Aquoddiauki,' or 'Aquoddie,' meaning the fish called a 'pollock.'"^{*}

^{*} According to Mr. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 220. [According to another authority, Porter C. Bliss, a thorough student of the Indian

The aboriginal name given on this map to Nova Scotia and the neighborhood has this peculiarity, that instead of being written, as according to its Indian etymology it should be, "Norumbega" or "Norumbec," it is written "Nurumberg;" showing that the Italian, as well as the German geographers, were reminded, by this Abnaki word, of the famous German town of "Nuremberg." In a similar manner the Indian name "Pernambuco" in South America has been sometimes Germanized to "Fernamburg" (Ferdinand's town).

dialects, *Acadie* is a pure Micmac word, meaning "place." In Nova Scotia and Maine, it is used by the Indians in composition with other words, as in *Pestum-acadie*, and in Etchemin, *Pascatum-acadie*, now Passamaquoddy, meaning the "place of the pollock." Gesner, in his "Resources of Nova Scotia," pp. 2, 31, gives the same meaning, illustrated in the words, *Anglishou-akade*, a place where Englishmen reside; *Sagaben-acade*, ground-nut-place, now *Shubenacadie*. The origin of *acadie* is *akki*, land or place, with *da*, a particle of admiration, added; translated by Rale, *voilà! there!* implying abundance.—ED.]

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ALONG THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA FROM COLUMBUS TO AYLLON, 1492 to 1520.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE earliest discoveries of the North American continent by Europeans were made on the great north-eastern peninsula, Newfoundland, the most eastern projection of which is the point nearest to Europe; and was reached on the old highway, by the intermediate stations, Farøe, Iceland, and Greenland.

Then followed the discovery of the West India islands, toward which the navigation was comparatively easy by help of the trade-winds and the equatorial current.

From both these northern and southern regions the more central parts of the coast were reached, and by degrees more thoroughly explored.

The State of Maine, being a part of the north-eastern peninsula, was usually reached from that quarter; and its early discovery is more intimately connected with that of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and other northern divisions, than with that of the West India islands and Florida. Accordingly, the voyages of the Northmen, the Cabots, the Cortereals, and others, are much more connected with the discovery of Maine, than those of Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, De Soto, and their successors at the south, who scarcely reached our coast.

Some of these southern expeditions in their progress, at last came *very near* to our northern coasts ; and, as I shall show, were at least *intended* for them. Bringing up the chain of discovery to as high a latitude as about 40° N., they serve to settle the question, how the coast of Maine was interlinked with the entire coast-line, and what position it occupied there. They also gave names on the south of Maine to certain bays, capes, and rivers, which are found on the Spanish charts. We should not be able to understand these charts, and to show on them what belonged to us and what not, without taking some notice of the southern voyages and their results.

A review of them, therefore, will be necessary, and a short review will suffice, to point out the most important steps in the progress of this branch of the history of discovery, which relates to the south-eastern coasts of North America.

2. COLUMBUS AND THE EAST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

Columbus, setting out on his first voyage in September, 1492, from the island of Gomara, followed at first a strictly western course in about 28° N., near and along the northern limits of the northern trade winds.

If he had kept on this track to the end, he would have reached the east coast of the United States in $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., about the latitude of Cape Canaveral in Florida. But during the latter half of his voyage, at the end of September, when about midway in the Atlantic Ocean, he began to change his course a little to the south, and so touched the new world in about the latitude of the southern end of our east coast.

The Indians of the small Lucayan islands, with whom he first came in contact, had from ancient times a more intimate intercourse with their southern neighbors,—the inhabitants of the larger Antilles,—than with those at the north,—the inhabitants of Florida and the east coast of the United States.

They were connected with the south by a chain of islands and low banks, whose channels were navigable for canoes; and were drawn in that direction by old traditions, that their paradise lay in those magnificent countries, the high mountains of which they could see from some parts of the Lucayan Archipelago. On the other hand, they were separated from the east coast of North America by a deep strait and the swift current of the Gulf-stream, which would be likely to sweep away their canoes, and be to them an object of dread. Besides, the flat and less attractive country of Florida was nowhere in sight from their native islands.

When therefore Columbus made inquiries of the poor islanders after larger and more beautiful countries, and took some of them on board as pilots, they conducted him *to the south*; and in this manner turned him off from our east coast; so that during the rest of his life, he continued to be occupied with the exploration of the southern regions, and gave little attention to the northern.

On his first homeward voyage in January, 1493, he approached the great section of the ocean, which lies along the east coast of North America, more nearly than at any other time. His course was in a north-east direction, somewhat parallel with our east coast, but at a distance from it, for nearly four hundred leagues; passing not far to the east of the Bermudas, and about a hundred and fifty leagues south of the southern end of the great Newfoundland Banks.*

Though Columbus never saw this east coast, yet he was convinced that there was a great continental land lying in this direction, at the north-west of his islands. He however believed until his death, as many did after him, that this great continent was the eastern coast of Asia, and that the islands

* See this track laid down on the chart of Columbus' voyages by Navarrete in his "Coleccion de los viages et descubrimientos," tom. 1, p. 362.

visited by him were situated not far eastward from that continent.

On his second voyage to the west he sailed along the south shore of Cuba, June, 1494, in a west-north-west direction. Arriving in the vicinity of its western extremity, he turned back, declaring his conviction, that the country was not an island, but a part of the great Asiatic continent.

As unhappily not one of the numerous charts which Columbus constructed has been preserved, we cannot say what may have been his exact idea in regard to the distance, trending, and configuration of that eastern continental coast. His first view may have been, that in these particulars it resembled the coast-line drawn on the globe of Martin Behaim, in 1492, running north-east of Zipangu (Japan), supposed by Columbus to be the same with his *Isla Española* (St. Domingo).

It is probable, although it is nowhere directly stated, that Columbus became acquainted, at a later time, with the discoveries of the Cabots and Cortereals made nine and six years before his death. This is rendered indeed quite certain, so far at least as the discoveries of Cabot are concerned, from the fact, that these had been already depicted on the celebrated map of Juan de la Cosa, the pilot and companion of Columbus.

The east coast of North America is drawn by Cosa on this chart, in accordance, doubtless, with the views of Columbus; that is, at a considerable distance from the West India islands, with a trending from the south-west to the north-east. On one point, however, Cosa differed from Columbus, namely, in representing Cuba as an island, and not as a peninsula, as Columbus continued to regard it, probably during his life.

Similar representations were made in various ways on maps made long after the death of Columbus. His last two voyages were occupied in explorations much further south, which have no special relation to our subject.

3. EXPEDITION OF PONCE DE LEON FROM PORTO RICO TO THE EAST COAST OF FLORIDA IN 1513.

For the reasons above stated, the more northern regions were for several years neglected by Columbus and his followers; and even the northern side of Cuba, which, accordingly, was supposed by them to be continental with Asia, until it was circumnavigated by Sebastian de Ocampo, in 1508, when its insular character became generally known.

Soon after this voyage of Ocampo, the Spaniards began to search more eagerly after the regions north of Cuba. The Indians of Cuba and of the Lucayan islands related a tradition, that there was, in that direction, a great country, which they named "Cautio," in which there was a wonderful fountain, having power to restore youth and strength to those who bathed in its waters. A similar story was told of an island, called "Bimini," said to lie in the north-western part of the Lucayan Archipelago.

It is probable that Ocampo brought home from his circumnavigation of Cuba, the first accounts of these traditions, and spread them among his countrymen, the Spanish settlers. And probably soon after, private adventurers and explorers may have undertaken voyages in search of this fountain of Bimini, and the country of Cautio.

Some years later, Juan Ponce de Leon, the conqueror and governor of Porto Rico, influenced by these glowing traditions, determined to seek this fabled fountain to restore his shattered frame; and on the 3d of March, 1513,* sailed with three vessels to the north-west, having as chief pilot,

* Nearly all former authors have placed this voyage in the year 1512. But Peschel, in his "Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen," p. 521, has proved that this year is an *impossible* date, and that instead of it the year 1513 *must* be adopted.

Antonio de Alaminos, a very intelligent and skillful man, who afterwards distinguished himself by several important discoveries.

De Leon, sailing at first along the eastern coasts of the Lucayan Archipelago, arrived on the 14th, at "Guanahani," the first American island discovered by Columbus. No Spanish navigator, so far as we know, since the discovery of Columbus in 1492, had reached this his north-western *ne plus ultra*. Ponce de Leon now passed it, crossed the track of Columbus, and advanced still further to the north-west.

On the 27th of March, which was Easter-day, commonly called in Spain, "Pascua Florida" (Flowery Easter), he discovered land in about 29° N. He sailed along the coast for two days in a north-westerly direction, looking for a harbor, until on the second day of April, he came to anchor at a place in 38° 8' N., probably near the present St. Augustine. Here he went on shore, took possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain; and, thinking it to be a large island, he called it "La Florida," as well because he had discovered it on the above-mentioned festival day, as also from its flowery aspect.*

The next day, Friday, he still continued his course to the north-west; but on Saturday, changing his mind, he returned along the coast in a southerly direction; disappointed, perhaps, in the object of his search, and desirous of ascertaining what connection there might be between Florida and Cuba.

He continued on his southern course until the 20th of April, baffled by the strong current of the Gulf-stream, and making little progress. He occasionally landed and gave names to several places; for instance, to a place,—discovered on the 8th of May, in latitude 28° 15' N., probably Cape Canaveral, as indicated on subsequent Spanish maps,—he

* See Herrera, Dec. I, lib. 9, cap. 10.

gave the name "Cabo de Corrientes," so called from the strength of the currents which rendered it difficult for him to pass, though sailing with favoring winds and all his sails set. In about 25° N., he saw the coast turning westward, and there descried a long chain of rocky reefs and islets of various forms, which appeared to his Spanish imagination like martyrs lying upon their grates; and which he therefore called "Los Martyres" (the Martyrs), our present Florida Keys.

Having reached these keys, De Leon turned to the north, entered upon other waters quite new to the Spaniards, and came upon the western coast of his "island Florida," along which he sailed some distance to the north, perhaps as far as the present "Charlotte Bay." From this point he again turned south, and on his home route came in sight of the "Tortugas" (the Tortoises); where, having Cuba on the one hand, and Florida on the other, he was able to determine the distance between those two countries. After cruising in the Lucayan Archipelago, he arrived at Porto Rico in the month of September or October.*

After this expedition, De Leon went to Spain, where the king gave him the title of "Adelantado de la isla de Bimini y la Florida," together with the government of these newly discovered provinces, with a commission to establish a colony there. De Leon was accordingly the first European governor appointed for the North American continent. For the next few years, however, he was so occupied with expeditions against the troublesome inhabitants of the Caribbean islands, "that he could not profit by his commission." But in the year 1521, he began to arm and avail himself of his commission in Florida. With the remainder of his fortune he fitted out two vessels, and sailed again to that country; at this time visiting only its western coast, and accordingly fur-

*There are some doubts about this date.

nishing nothing of interest to our subject. On this his last expedition he was mortally wounded in a battle with the Indians of Florida; and died in Cuba, leaving a son, the heir of his titles to the great country discovered by him in the north.

The Spanish name "Florida," which De Leon gave to this new country, remains; while the Indian names, "Cautio" and "Bimini" were soon forgotten. The name of Florida was extended by degrees further north with the progress of Spanish discovery and power in that direction. New England, and even Labrador, were at last included under the name of Florida. Nearly to the end of the eighteenth century, the name of North America was little used by Spanish authors.*

4. VOYAGE OF ANTONIO DE ALAMINOS FROM VERA CRUZ THROUGH THE BAHAMA CHANNEL TO SPAIN IN 1519.

Before and after the expedition of De Leon in 1513, numerous private excursions were made to the coasts of Florida and the Lucayan islands, from St. Domingo and Cuba. Among the adventurers was a certain Diego Miruelo, who had preceded De Leon, and was now found by him to his astonishment, making on his own account a second expedition to Florida, in 1516. This Miruelo brought home specimens of gold, which increased the fame of this country among the Spaniards.†

We are not told to what part of Florida Miruelo went; but probably it was not to the east coast. The Gulf of Mexico at this time, and in subsequent years, attracted the

* Among these authors is the well-known historian, Barcia, in his great history of Florida.

† See Garcilasso de la Vega's work upon De Soto, lib. 1, chap. 2; and Barcia's "Ensayo Chronologico," p. 2. Madrid, 1723.

attention of enterprising Spaniards more than any other region. The great naval expeditions of Cordova, 1517; Grijalva, 1518; and Cortes, 1519, were directed to that mediterranean sea of North America. The east coast was neglected for nine years after Ponce de Leon's voyage in 1513. But from these gulf expeditions there proceeded a voyage, which exerted an important influence upon the exploration of this east coast.

Cortes,—having obtained on his cruise along the coast of New Spain some favorable accounts from the interior, and built the fortress of Vera Cruz, and wishing now to send reports of his successful progress to the king of Spain, by the shortest possible route,—despatched, in a fast-sailing vessel, his skillful pilot, Antonio de Alaminos. He, as has been said, had been the chief pilot of De Leon, in 1513; and had conducted, in this capacity, the subsequent expeditions of Cordova, Grijalva, and Cortes to the Gulf of Mexico, and had thereby acquired great knowledge and experience of those waters.

Alaminos knew the east coast of Florida as high as 30° N., and had observed with De Leon the strong northern current along that coast. He did not know with certainty what was the state of things beyond this point to the east, on the route to Spain. No one, probably, except perhaps Sebastian Cabot in 1498, had sailed in that direction, and he, probably, only as far south as 36° N., in about the latitude of Gibraltar. It could not, therefore, be known at that time, whether the islands which appeared on the map of Cosa so plentifully scattered over those waters as high up as 40° N.,* might not be barred with reefs and banks; or whether the passage in that direction might not be blocked by some peninsula, projecting from the northern continent far to the south and the east.

* See Cosa's Chart, our No. 5.

But Alaminos, having observed the strong currents in the Bahama Channel, did not think it possible that such obstructions could exist. "He thought," says Herrera, "that these currents would conduct him somewhere into deep and open water." Accordingly he made trial of a passage through the Bahama Channel, and floated down the Gulf-stream into the broad Atlantic Ocean; thereby proving the existence of a navigable passage in this direction, from Cuba and the Gulf of Mexico to Spain.

The exact latitudes of Alaminos' track are nowhere reported. We are only told, that, in sailing through the Bahama Channel, "he put himself to the north" (*fue metiendo se al norte*), and that in this direction he found the broad ocean (*hallo el espacioso mar*); and that in pursuing his voyage he touched the island of Terceira.*

From this it is evident, that he sailed along a great section of the Gulf-stream, and may be considered as the real discoverer of this current, running along the entire east coast of North America, and exerting an important influence on its commercial, as well as geographical and political history. He probably passed near the Bermudas, though he is not known to have seen them. In this manner he completed the discovery of the section of the ocean lying between the tracks of Cabot, Columbus, and Ponce de Leon, which, until his voyage, had remained untraversed and unknown.

5. THE FIRST SPANISH EXPEDITION OF LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON TO CHICORA (THE COAST OF CAROLINA), 1520.

The Spanish slave-trading voyages to the Lucayan Archipelago, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had depopu-

* See Bernal Díaz, *Historia Verdadera*, cap. 54-56; and Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 14.

lated one island after another. As the demand for laborers in the mines and plantations of Hayti and Cuba continued, the slave-traders sought other countries not yet visited, and at last extended their search to the coast of the "Northern Indies."

In the year 1520, several wealthy planters of St. Domingo fitted out two vessels in the harbor of La Plata, and despatched them to the Lucayan islands, for the purpose of "procuring hands." Among these owners or adventurers (*armadores*), were the Spanish civil officers Diego Caballero, Ortiz de Matienço, and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon; the last a literary man, a graduate (*licenciado*) and judge (*oidór*).

The judge Ayllon, apparently the most wealthy and active in the company, with the help of his associates, paid all the expenses of the expedition. The name of the commander we do not learn, only occasionally a Captain Jordan is mentioned as the commander of one of the ships. He may have been the commander of both ships, and the expedition may, therefore, properly be called "Captain Jordan's voyage."*

The chief pilot of the expedition was Diego Miruelo, the same who has already been mentioned as having made reconnoitering expeditions on his own account to the north, in 1513 and 1516, and who was therefore well acquainted with the navigation of the Lucayan islands and with parts of Florida.

The two vessels sailed from St. Domingo some time in 1520. They touched at several Lucayan islands; but finding them depopulated, and determining "not to return with empty ships," they directed their course further north, to try

* The only Spanish author who makes Ayllon himself go with the expedition, is Barcia, 1723. The older authorities, Gomara, Oviedo, Herrera, do not mention him.

their fortune on the coasts discovered by Ponce de Leon, whose track they followed.*

In this direction they fell in with a coast "in 32° N.," according to Gomara and Herrera, or "in 33° N.," according to Oviedo. And going on shore, they called a cape in the neighborhood "Cabo de Santa Helena" (cape of St. Helena), because they had discovered it on the day of that saint, the 18th of August. A river, which was near, was called "Rio Jordan," after the above-mentioned Captain Jordan. The country, as they understood from the aborigines, was called "Chicora."

I will not examine here the doubtful points connected with these dates and names. This belongs to a special history of the coast of Carolina. I will only state, that we shall find several of these names on charts hereafter introduced, and shall use them as waymarks.

Ayllon's men do not appear to have given much time to exploration. Their voyage was nothing but a slave-hunting expedition. They remained for that purpose in the harbor where they had come to anchor, went on shore, caught some of the natives, to whom they gave European trinkets, and dresses made in the Castilian fashion; who were then dismissed among their countrymen as decoys.

Many poor Indians, upon this, came on board the ships in cheerful groups, to receive similar presents; and when the decks were covered with them, the treacherous Spaniards unfurled their sails, and turned their prows toward the south. But this crime was unprofitable; and was finally avenged on the cruel perpetrators. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished together,—the first

* Herrera, l. c., "navegaron por la noticia que se tenia de la navegacion de Juan Ponce de Leon." "Some will have it," says Herrera further "that they were only carried away to the north by a storm."

shipwreck, probably, on the coast of Carolina. The greater part of the Indians on board the other ship died from sorrow and grief,* sickness and hunger, refusing to eat what the Spaniards offered them. However, one young Indian at least remained alive, to whom the Spaniards gave the name, "Francisco Chicora." He acquired the Spanish language, and afterwards related to Ayllon many wonderful things of the beauty and riches of Chicora. Ayllon, whose imagination was inflamed by these reports, and who was now desirous to try the conquest of this country, carried his Indian to Spain,† with the design of proposing to the government to undertake an expedition on a grander scale.

But these transactions and the preparations for this new expedition occupied several years; and meanwhile this east coast, in its northerly section, had been reached and explored by the Spanish expedition of Gomez in 1525, as well as by the French expedition of Verrazano in 1524, of which I shall treat in the following chapter.

*"—de tristeza y pesadumbre."

† Peter Martyr, l. c. Dec. III, cap. 2, has a most interesting chapter on this Indian from Carolina. Once he had him and his master Ayllon at his table in Seville, and communicates to his readers the conversation which he then held with them about "Chicora." Among other things, he mentions, probably for the first time, the sweet potatoes ("Batatas") of that region.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPEDITIONS TO THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA
UNDER THE FRENCH, BY VERRAZANO,—THE SPANIARDS,
BY GOMEZ,—AND THE ENGLISH, BY RUT.

1. EXPEDITION OF GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO IN 1524.

No exploring expeditions had been undertaken to the new world officially by the French government prior to 1523. All had been left to private enterprise. But in that year, the first French voyage for "the discovery of the new countries" was commenced, under the patronage of Francis I, the brilliant, enlightened, and powerful sovereign of France.

Four ships were fitted out, under the command of Giovanni da Verrazano,* a citizen of the same nationality, which had furnished commanders for the Spanish and English expeditions to the new world,—an Italian of Florence. He had previously navigated the eastern parts of the Mediterranean,—the same waters in which Columbus had gained his experience ; and having entered the service of the king of France, he had been employed at times in cruising against the Spaniards.

The expedition of 1524 appears to have been partly destined as a hostile cruise against the Spaniards. But explora-

* I write this name here as it is written in the work of Ramusio, though Italians, Tiraboschi, for instance, write it Verrazani. To adapt the name to the English reader, we shall in the following pages call him *John Verrazano*.

tion and discovery, more particularly the search for a passage to Cathay, were the principal objects of the royal commission then received by Verrazano, as he himself says, in his letter to the king.* In this letter we regret that we have not a more full account of the instructions or orders given to him by Francis I.†

From several circumstances soon to be mentioned, it appears probable, that at first he sailed from France in the autumn of 1523. The expedition seems to have met with unfavorable weather, and to have encountered great tempests on the northern coasts (*nelle spiagge settentrionale*). Two ships were separated from the fleet; and what became of them we are not informed. With the two other ships, "La Dauphine" and "La Normande," in a damaged condition, Verrazano entered a port of Brittany to repair. What "northern coasts" these were is not clear. Some think that this first attempt was designed for a long exploring expedition, and that "the northern coasts" were some northern part of America already reached by Verrazano in 1523. Verrazano says, in his letter to the king, that he had made a

* Ramusio, vol. 3, p. 420 seq. Venetia, 1565. Verrazano speaks of the four ships which were sent by the orders of the king across the ocean, to discover new lands (*li quattro legni che vostra Maesta mandò per oceano a discoprir nuove terre*); and further says (in the appendix to the copy of his letter, lately discovered in the Magliabecchian library in Florence, edited by G. Cogswell, Esq., in the collections of the Historical Society of New York, second series, vol. 1, p. 52 (New York, 1841), that it was his intention "to reach in this voyage Cathay on the extreme coast of Asia."

† Herrera (Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 9) says, that Francis I, the rival of Charles V, had a desire to emulate him also in respect to western discovery. He relates, that Francis had uttered the expression, that "he did not think God had created those new countries for the Castilians alone." Herrera thinks, also, that the expedition was sent out especially for the discovery of a north-west passage, and of a route to the Moluccas; "a subject which at that time occupied the cosmographers and navigators of all sea-faring nations."

report to him on this first unfortunate attempt at exploration ; but this report has unhappily not come down to us.

After having repaired his vessels, Verrazano sailed again, well equipped for a cruise along the coasts of Spain.*

He went as far south as the island of Madeira. From this place he resolved to proceed to the west, but with only one of his vessels, "La Dauphine." As to what became of "La Normande," we have no account.

On board the "Dauphine" he had fifty, probably picked, men ; and she had provisions for an eight months' cruise, "arms and other warlike munitions and naval stores."

On the 17th of January, 1524, he parted from the "Islas desiertas," a well-known little group of islands near Madeira, and sailed at first westward, running in twenty-five days five hundred leagues,† with a light and pleasant easterly breeze along the northern border of the trade winds, in about 30° N. His track was consequently nearly like that of Columbus on his first voyage.

On the 14th of February,‡ he met "with as violent a hurricane as any ship ever encountered." But he weathered it, and pursued his voyage to the west, "with a little deviation to the north ;" when, after having sailed twenty-four days and four hundred leagues, he descried a new country which, as he supposed, had never before been seen either by modern or ancient navigators. The country was very low.

From the above description it is evident, that Verrazano came in sight of the east coast of the United States about

* Herrera (Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 9) says, that he sailed from *Dieppe* on the 17th of January, which probably is not correct.

† Ramusio, l. c.; Herrera, l. c.; and also Hakluyt, in his "Divers Voyages," edited by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1850.

‡ So the Magliabecchian Manuscript (l. c. p. 56) has it. Ramusio and the "Divers Voyages" have the 20th of February, which appears less probable.

the 10th of March, 1524. He places his land-fall in 34° N.,* which is the latitude of Cape Fear, a prominent peninsula projecting, with its islands and banks, far into the ocean, and was probably the first land seen by him.

He first sought a harbor for water and to repair his ship, and for this purpose sailed to the south along the coast "for about fifty leagues" † from the point of his land-fall. But he could find no port in this direction.

Seeing the coast trending still further south in the same manner, he reversed his course, and returned north; but finding no suitable port, he came to anchor near the coast, ‡ and sent some of his men on shore to look at the country and communicate with the inhabitants.

This landing-place must have been somewhat north of his land-fall in 34° N., perhaps not far from Cape Lookout. A section of low coast, sixty to seventy leagues in length, stretches along there, in which Verrazano could find no port; and this corresponds with the character of the coast between Capes Lookout and Romain. There are long uniform tracts of low country without any estuary or port whatever, which might well have discouraged a weather-beaten and port-seeking navigator. The few inlets or ports existing there, lie behind sandy promontories, and might be easily overlooked.

South of Cape Romain are the harbor of Charleston, St. Helena Sound, the inlet of Port Royal, Savannah River, and other open channels on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, as far down as the harbor of St. Augustine. The coast of Florida south of St. Augustine is destitute of any good

* See the Appendix to his letter in the Magliabecchian Manuscript, l. c. p. 52.

† Twenty French marine leagues, probably meant here, make one degree of latitude.

‡ Ramusio, l. c. p. 420 A.

harbor. As it is quite certain that Verrazano did not sail as far south as St. Augustine, it is evident that he could not have gone much south of Cape Romain. We may therefore, with some degree of probability, put down *this cape as the southern terminus of his voyage*. This cape is only about thirty French marine leagues from Cape Fear,—his land-fall. But Verrazano may have meant “fifty leagues,” coming and going. At all events, his “fifty leagues,” if we reckon them strictly, bring him on the coast of Carolina, and still north of Port Royal and St. Helena Sound. I therefore do not agree with the American author, who thinks “that he sailed *at least* as far as the southern part of the State of Georgia.”* The important discovery of that more southern coast, so rich in harbors, belongs to another, a Spaniard,—Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

Those who hold that Verrazano's southern terminus was near the peninsula of Florida, have so thought, because he mentions the palm tree as among the productions of the country, while this tree is not found north of Georgia.”† But even should this be true, we need not lay much stress upon these “palm trees” of Verrazano. It is well known that the old navigators in these western countries very often saw what they wished to see. Verrazano says also, that “the country, being so near to the east (of Asia), would probably not be destitute of the medicinal and aromatic drugs of the Orient,” and he thinks also that the country might contain gold, which he thought was “denoted by the color of the ground.” So he may easily have thought, that he saw “palm trees” in some other trees resembling them.

From these considerations I infer, that Verrazano saw

* Rev. S. Miller, D. D., in *New York Historical Society's Collections*, vol. 1, p. 24. New York, 1811.

† Dr. Miller, l. c.

little of the coast of South Carolina, and nothing of that of Georgia, and that in these regions he can, at most, be called *the discoverer only of the coast of North Carolina*. Verrazano, who gives us the oldest description known of this country, thus represents it: "The first line of the coast is sandy; has behind it small rivers and arms of the sea that enter at certain creeks, washing the shore on both sides. Beyond this appears a country rising in height above the sandy shore, with many fair fields and plains, and full of mighty woods. . . . The shore is shoal and without harbors, but it is free from rocks, and deep, so that within four or five feet of the shore, there are twenty feet of deep water, the depth increasing in a uniform proportion; and there is very good riding at sea."

Verrazano wrote this account probably at the place where he, for the first time, anchored and went on shore. It is a truthful description of the coast of Onslow Bay in North Carolina, north-east of Cape Fear. From this we may infer, that his anchorage was near New River Inlet, in the center of this bay.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion, that the first land made by Verrazano was Cape Fear, in 34° N., which is in the very center of a harborless coast. And the correctness with which he gives this latitude tends further to convince us of the general accuracy of his observations of latitude, and especially of the accuracy of those latitudes which he afterwards mentions.

From the center of Onslow Bay Verrazano sailed on toward the east and north. Like the Cabots, who were at the same point thirty years before him, he probably feared that, in going further south, he should encounter the Spaniards, who had already discovered the coast of Carolina in the expedition of Ayllon in 1520, and at this very time were preparing to send this same navigator from St. Do-

mingo, on a second expedition to the same regions, and with the same object of finding a north-west passage to Cathay.

"The coast," as he says, "stretched at first to the east,* and then turned to the north." Before coming to this northern land, Verrazano sent again some of his men on shore, probably in Raleigh Bay, where happened that hospitable and kind treatment so often related, which the wild inhabitants gave to a French boy, whom the waves had thrown on their shores.

Departing thence, we suppose he rounded Cape Hatteras, and at a distance of about fifty leagues, came to another shore, where he anchored and spent several days.†

While riding at anchor "on the coast for want of harbours," he explored the country, and found it full of immense forests a few leagues from the coast. Here he had an interview with the Indians, and brought one of their boys on board his ship, and kept him there.

This was *the second principal landing-place of Verrazano*. If we reckon fifty leagues from Cape Hatteras, it would fall somewhere upon the east coast of Delaware, in latitude 38° N., where, by some authors,‡ it is thought to have been. But if, as appears to me most likely, Verrazano reckoned his distance here, as he did in other cases, from his last anchoring, and not from Cape Hatteras, we must look for his second landing somewhere south of the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, and near the entrance to Albemarle Sound. And this better agrees with the "sail of one hundred leagues," which Verrazano says he made from his second to his third landing-place in New York Bay. From the Peninsula of Delaware, in

* Ramusio.

† Magliabecchian report: "sequendo sempre il lito que tornava verso settentrione, pervenimo in spazio di leghe 50 a una altra terra."

‡ J. W. Jones, in note to p. 61 of the "Divers Voyages."

38° N., to New York harbor, it could scarcely be called "a sail of one hundred leagues." In a direct line, it is only fifty leagues.

Though Verrazano sailed from his second station "always in sight of the coast during the daytime, and always carefully coming to anchor in the night," still the large and beautiful entrance of Chesapeake Bay is not mentioned by him. His second landing-place could not have been near this entrance, because he says, that at this station he was "riding on the coast for want of harboroughs." All the country was sandy and low, and for the space of two hundred leagues which he ran, "he never saw a stone of any sort." These "two hundred leagues of sandy, stoneless shores," probably designate the coast from his southern terminus, Cape Romain, to his third landing-place, New York harbor, which is about two hundred French marine leagues.

After this sail of one hundred leagues from his second station, he found "a very pleasant place among some small, prominent hills, in the midst of which ran down to the sea a great body of water (*una grandissima fiumara*),* which was so deep at its mouth, that any heavily laden vessel might pass into it.

This is the first time that Verrazano mentions "hills" as having been seen by him. And there can be scarcely a doubt, that the Highlands of Neversink are here intended. They are the first hills of any importance found on the whole coast, from Florida north; and the sight of them would naturally make a strong and agreeable impression on a navigator coming from that quarter. Near the capes of Virginia, at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, some hills are observed; but they have an elevation of not more than a hundred and

* *Ramusio.*

thirty feet, while the Highlands of Neversink rise to an elevation of more than three hundred feet.*

It is further to be observed, that Verrazano does not speak here exactly of a river (fiume). That name would hardly seem appropriate to designate that great mass of water which passes out between Sandy Hook and Long Island. Verrazano calls it a "fiumara,"† which, according to the dictionary of the *Accademia della Crusca*, is more than a river (piu che un fiume), and is defined as a "congeries aquarum." This is a very appropriate term for the broad outlet of New York Bay, and corroborates the supposition, that the mouth of this bay is here intended. And this supposition is further confirmed by Verrazano's description of the coast.

So far as this point, the coast, he says, ran for a long distance from the south, but that afterwards "it trended for fifty leagues and more toward the east." This describes exactly the situation of the bay, in the north-west corner of the great triangular gulf of New York.

He found at this third landing station an excellent berth, where he came to anchor "well-protected from the winds" (in luogo ben coperto da venti),‡ and from which he ascended the river in his boat into the interior. He found the shores very thickly settled, and as he passed up half a league further, he discovered a most beautiful lake (bellissimo lago), of three leagues in circumference. Here, more than thirty canoes came to him with a multitude of people (con infinite gente), who seemed very friendly, and showed him the best places for landing.

While he was having this friendly communication with

* See Blunt's "American Coast Pilot," pp. 307, 326, New York, 1857, where these highlands are depicted.

† At least, in the edition of his letter contained in Ramusio.

‡ Ramusio.

them, a sudden squall of *contrary* wind arose (*movendiosi dal mare un impeto contrario di vento*), which compelled him to return speedily to his ship, and even to weigh anchor and sail onward toward the east, greatly regretting to leave this region, which had appeared to him so commodious and delightful.

This description contains several accounts which make it still more clear, that the bay of New Yôrk was the scene of these occurrences.

The multitude of people which came out to see him seems to prove, that he must have been at the mouth of some great river, like the Hudson. For the Indians, from the earliest times, have always crowded around such localities, which were favorable to trade and settlement, just as European planters did afterwards. That excellent berth of his, "protected from the winds," could not have been outside of Sandy Hook; for there he could not have found such protection. What is called the Outer Harbor of New York is not mentioned. Verrazano's "*bellissimo lago*" of three leagues in circumference, can be nothing else than the "Inner Harbor;" though even for this, the "three leagues" mentioned are rather a short circuit. If we suppose that he came to anchor in Gravesend Bay, his "boat sail of half a league," which brought him to that "lake," might be explained as a passage through the "Narrows," which is not much longer than half a league. Hence it seems to me, *that Gravesend Bay is the most likely place of Verrazano's anchorage in these waters*. Still it seems strange that he should feel obliged to leave an anchorage so well protected, and so commodious and delightful a place which he was anxious to explore, from a flaw of wind sweeping over the bay.

From New York Bay Verrazano sailed eastward "along the southern shore of Long Island. He followed this direc-

tion for about fifty leagues,—the coast always in sight.” At the end of the fifty leagues he discovered an island of a triangular shape, hilly, covered with trees, and full of people. He gave it the name of the mother of Francis I,* the princess Louise of Savoy; and must therefore have called it “L’Isle de la Princesse Louise,” or something like that. But by a singular mistake, subsequent geographers, supposing the mother of Francis to have been named *Claudia* (the name of his first wife, daughter of Louis XII. of France), have called it the island “Claudia.”

This mistake was first made by Ortelius, who, in 1750, drew on his map of America a “Claudia Island;” which after him was reproduced on all subsequent maps and charts of America. Even Hakluyt repeated and sanctioned this mistake, by writing in a marginal note to his translation of Verrazano’s report: “The mother of Francis I. was Claudia.”† This Claudia, the first wife of Francis I, was by no means a prominent person. She is seldom mentioned in the history of France, and was already dead at the time of Verrazano’s voyage. Louisa, the mother of Francis, was, on the contrary, a very distinguished person, and much beloved by the king. During his absence in Italy, in 1524, she was appointed to be Regent of France. It is therefore probable, that her name, rather than that of a person so obscure as Claudia, would have been selected by Verrazano for this compliment. This island is distinguished as being the only place to which Verrazano gave a name, in his report of his voyage.

Some authors suppose, that this island of “Claudia,” or rather “Louisa,” is our present little Block Island; others think, more justly, that it must be Martha’s Vineyard, which

* “Batlezzamola in nome della Vostra clarissima genetrice.”

† Hakluyt’s “Voyages and Navigations,” vol. 3, p. 298. London, 1600.

agrees much better than Block Island with Verrazano's account of the distance of his "Louisa" from New York, and of the appearance of that island. Fifty French marine leagues (twenty to a degree) running east from New York harbor, carry us beyond Block Island, and indeed a short distance beyond Martha's Vineyard.

The "triangular shape," ascribed by him to Louisa Island, might perhaps be equally applicable to Block Island and to Martha's Vineyard; but not the account he gives of its size and general appearance.

The island of Rhodes, near Asia Minor, to which Verrazano compares his newly-discovered island, is forty-four leagues, or about one hundred and thirty miles, in circumference. Being a Mediterranean navigator, he doubtless knew it well from his own observation. It had become famous by the bloody and destructive assaults made upon it by Solyman, the Turkish emperor, only two years before, and would hence have naturally occurred to his thoughts, during his lonely sail along the barbarous shores of North America. He could hardly have thought of comparing that little fisherman's station, "Block Island," which is only four leagues in circumference, with the magnificent island of Rhodes. It is certainly less difficult to suppose, that he may have been led by some association of ideas to compare it with Martha's Vineyard, which, being sixty statute miles in circumference, comes somewhat nearer to the size of Rhodes. It presents a very agreeable and diversified aspect, and is covered with little ranges of hills interspersed with plains, and has always been well peopled.

Several authors have found difficulty in adopting this opinion regarding Verrazano's "Louisa Island," for the reason, that Martha's Vineyard lies far to the east of the entrance of Narraganset Bay, while Verrazano would seem,

from his account, not to have entered this bay until after he had passed beyond this island. Verrazano relates, that *after* having descried his "Louisa Island," he entered another most "beautiful port" fifteen leagues distant. These authors have supposed that this fifteen leagues' sail must have been, like the former course, in an eastern direction; and since, in this direction from Martha's Vineyard, no such "beautiful port" could be reached, they have concluded that Louisa Island must be Block Island, which lies west of Narraganset Bay, and from which this beautiful port could be reached on an eastern course. They seem not to have considered, that the "fifteen leagues' sail" from "Louisa Island," could as well be in a western direction; which, indeed, is quite clearly indicated by Verrazano's report. He says: "that he could not anchor and go on shore on Louisa Island, because the wind became contrary" (*per contrarieta del tempo*). A contrary wind, in his situation, was, of course, a wind from the east. It was perhaps an eastern *gale* which forced him to look out for a harbor. He was beaten back from Martha's Vineyard; and so quite naturally was carried, by a north-western course, into Narraganset Bay.*

That the "beautiful port" (*bellissimo porto*) which Verrazano thus reached after a fifteen leagues' sail toward the north-west from Martha's Vineyard, was Narraganset Bay, and more especially Newport harbor, is evident from the description he gives of this port, and from other circumstances.

This port he represents as situated in the parallel of Rome, $41^{\circ} 40'$ N. (in grade *41 e duo terzi*). The latitude of Newport is nearly the same, being $41^{\circ} 30'$. Such accurate observation of latitude is seldom found at that time. From this correct statement of the latitude of Newport, and the other

* Mr. J. W. Jones, in a note on p. 64 of his edition of "Divers Voyages," partially adopts this view, though not very decidedly.

of Cape Fear before mentioned, we have cause to regret that Verrazano should have given us no other observations of this kind in his narrative.

He says further, that the outlet of the port to the ocean looked toward the south, and that there the harbor was "half a league broad." This is exactly the width and direction of the passage from Newport harbor toward the sea. He also mentions several times a small island near the harbor where his ship was riding (*una isoletta vicina alle nave*); which corresponds with Goat Island, lying near Newport.

He stayed there a fortnight, providing his vessels with necessaries, and carrying on a friendly intercourse and trade with the Indians. This is the longest stay which Verrazano made at any place on our coast.

He made several excursions into the interior, and gives an accurate description of its appearance, its open and fertile fields, meadows, and groves. He sailed also into the northern parts of the bay, and ascertained that it became larger, and was twenty leagues in circumference; he counted five islands in it, and says that the largest fleets might ride safely between them,* all which corresponds to existing facts in regard to Newport, and confirms the supposition that this was the spot visited by him.

Verrazano was the first European, after the Northmen, who came to this harbor; and it is remarkable how perfectly he corroborates their description of the beauty of the country, and the richness of its vines and grapes, which he mentions several times.

*Some writers (for instance Dr. Miller, in the *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, p. 24, seq., New York, 1811), have thought that it was not the Bay of Narraganset and Newport, but the Bay of New York, which was here meant. I think that it has been shown above, that this view cannot be correct.

He left this port on the 5th of May, which is the only date he gives us during his whole survey of our east coast. Allowing a fortnight for this stay in Newport, and a few days more for his sail from New York, we may fix the date of his arrival in New York Bay at the middle of April.

From Narraganset Bay, Verrazano coasted a "hundred and fifty leagues" along a country "somewhat higher, with certain mountains." This country, no doubt, is New England. At first, for about fifty leagues, he found the coast running to the east, "trending afterwards to the north," in the vicinity of Cape Cod. Though he kept, as he says, always in sight of the shore, still his letter affords no indication of any port or harbor made or discovered by him along the coast of New England; but his description of his sail northward, after having rounded Cape Cod, points unmistakably to this region.

I here present in full Verrazano's report relating to this territory, because it is the first detailed description of the coast of the Gulf of Maine, which has been given by any European traveler. I copy it from the translation of the letter in Ramusio, found in Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. 3, p. 295, London, 1600. The Magliabecchian copy gives it nearly in the same words as Ramusio.

Verrazano's Description of the Coast of the Gulf of Maine.

"Trending afterwards to the north (after Cape Cod), we found another land high, full of thicke woods, the trees there of firres, cipresses and such like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former seemed to be curteous and gentle, so much were these full of rudenesse and ill manners, and so barbarous, that by no signes that ever we could make, would we have any kind of traffike with them. They cloth

themselves with Beares skinnés and Luzernes and Seales and other beastes skinnés. Their food, as farre as we could perceive, repairing often to their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots, which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They have no graine, neither saw we any kind of signe of tillage, neither is the land for the barrenesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the seashore upon certain craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let down with a rope, what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approche to the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fishhookes, and tooles to cut withall, neither did they make any account of our courtesie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people showed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent. We were in dispight of them two or three leagues within the land, being in number twenty-five armed men of us. And when we went on shore they shot at us with their bowes, making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods.

“ We found not in this land anything notable or of importance, saving very great woods and certaine hills; they may have some mineral matter in them, because we saw many of them have beadstones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence, keeping our course north-east along the coast, which we found more pleasant champion and without woods, *with high mountains within the land*. Continuing directly along the coast for the space of fifty leagues, we discovered thirty-two Islands, lying all neere the land, being small and pleasant to the view, high, and having many turnings and windings betweene them, making many fair harbo-

roughs and chanel[s] as they do in the gulfe of Venice, in Sclavonia and Dalmatia. We had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we suppose they are of the same manners and nature as the others are. Sayling North-east for the space of one hundred and fiftie leagues, we approached the land, that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees."

Rounding Cape Cod with a fair and favorable southerly or south-easterly wind,* and keeping the distant country in sight, Verrazano, having crossed the Bay of Massachusetts, must have touched the shore at some place in the inner corner of the Gulf of Maine, probably in the vicinity of Portsmouth, where he appears to have made some stay. Departing thence, he changed his course from a northern to a north-eastern direction along the shore, and soon came in sight of "*high mountains within the land.*" These "high mountains" were probably the "White Mountains" of New Hampshire, which were often observed and mentioned by old navigators sailing along our coast. They cannot be seen from the sea near Portsmouth; but after this port has been passed, they soon become visible along the coast, from the neighborhood of Saco to the region of the Kennebec. This circumstance makes it nearly certain, that Verrazano touched our coast near Portsmouth, and had there his first landing-place, in his cruise along the coast of the Gulf of Maine.

He was struck there by the more northern aspect of the country. He found "firres and other trees, wont to grow in cold countreys." He found the country not apt to bear fruit

* After having left Narraganset Bay, Verrazano says (Hakluyt l.c.), that for some time he did not land in any place "because the weather served his turn for sailing." This expression appears to indicate a wind of the description given above.

or seed, nor anything of importance, saving great woods, for which the State of Maine has always been famous.

And as to the inhabitants, while those in the south had been courteous and gentle, these in the north were rude, ill-mannered, and unfriendly.

In fact, all the inhabitants of this northern country were in a state of irritation and hostility against the white men ; from which I conclude, that the country had been previously visited by Europeans, whose treatment had disaffected the natives. For nearly everywhere in the new world, where Europeans first landed, their reception by the natives was kind, like that experienced by Columbus on his arrival in Guanahani ; while, on the contrary, where the two races had repeatedly come in contact, a hostile disposition was manifested, such as Verrazano met with on the coast of Maine.

Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, in 1524, had often been visited by the French and Portuguese, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, either in catching fish, or driven by contrary winds ; and some of them may have been driven to the coast of Maine, not more than about one hundred leagues distant from their most western fishing-banks.

This is still more probable from another circumstance mentioned by Verrazano ; that whilst the natives of the south did " not care at all for steele or yron " instruments, those in the north were very eager to possess them, and accordingly must have already learned their use. " They would take nothing," Verrazano says, " but knives, fish-hooks, and whatever would cut."

European commerce and barter had, therefore, commenced before the time of Verrazano's expedition to this coast.

Departing from his landing-place on the coast of the Gulf of Maine, Verrazano, as he sailed along the shore in a north-

east direction, found the country more pleasant. The coast of Maine is still found more diversified and attractive, than the more uniform shores of the south. And its interest is increased by the distant view of high mountains within the land, which, no doubt, as has been said, were the White Mountain range.

From Saco Bay the coast of Maine begins to be broken up into those innumerable headlands, tongues, peninsulas, and islands, which form one of its most characteristic features. Verrazano, as he sailed along, counted thirty-two islands, very pleasant to the view, and having many turnings and windings between them, making many fair harbors and channels. And thinking of his cruise in the Mediterranean, the theatre of his former exploits, compared them very appropriately to the coasts of Dalmatia and Sclavonia in the Adriatic, which have very similar indentations, and are equally full of islands. He does not appear, however, to have landed again; so that it remains doubtful whether he ever trod the territory of Maine. His last landing-place, where, with twenty-five armed men, he went two or three leagues into the interior, having been "in the vicinity of Portsmouth," it is doubtful whether it was upon the soil of New Hampshire or Maine.

The characteristic beauties of the coast of Maine must have made a strong impression upon the mind of Verrazano. For while he speaks of them in high terms and describes them minutely, he has for Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the remainder of his voyage, only these few words: "Sailing north-east (from the coast of Maine) for the space of 150 leagues, we approached to the lande that in times past was discovered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Having now spent all our provisions and victuals, and having discovered about seven hundred leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France."

He entered the port of Dieppe early in July, 1524.* His whole exploring expedition, from Madeira and back, had accordingly lasted but five and a half months, and may be called a most prosperous and rapid excursion.

Though Verrazano says that he discovered a new country, "which had never been seen by any one, either in ancient or modern times," and though he never mentions either the name of America, which in his time had come into use, or the name of "Occidental Indies," by which the Spaniards at that time called America; still from the description which he gives of the new country,† it is evident, that he was quite aware of having touched a part of the regions designated by these names. He says that this country, of which he had discovered a part, and of which the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered the rest, is so large, that it might well be called another world (*un altro mondo*), and that even at the beginning of his voyage he "expected to find some such an obstacle," though he did not doubt "that he should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean." How far distant he thought this "Eastern Ocean" to be, he does not say, but only that the breadth of his newly discovered country is not ascertained. That he thought himself much nearer to the Eastern Ocean and to China, than he really was, is clear from several of his observations. He thought that the savages, whom he saw on our east coast, were, in some of their qualities, "like the people of the east parts of the world, and especially like *them of the uttermost parts of China*." He thought, also, that "these new countries were not altogether destitute of the drugs and spicery, pearls and gold,"

* His report, which he at once sent to the king, is dated "on board the ship *Delphin*, in the port of Dieppe in Normandy, the 8th of July, 1524."

† In the additional notes to his report found in the Magliabecchian library. See Cogswell's edition, l. c. p. 65 seq.

supposed to belong to the eastern world. He hoped that certain information on these points would soon be obtained by new undertakings to the same coasts.

Verrazano's voyage—with that of Gomez, soon to be mentioned—is to us the most interesting maritime undertaking made to our east coast during the first half of the sixteenth century; principally, because it is the only one of this period upon which we have a full written report, composed by an eye-witness, himself the well-instructed commander of the expedition. The account is, therefore, invaluable. Still the most precious part of what Verrazano wrote respecting his voyage, has not been preserved, namely, that little book (un libretto) which he says he sent to the king, having noted in it all his observations of longitude and latitude, of the currents, ebb and flood of the sea, and other matters, which he hoped would be serviceable to navigators, and be promotive of science.*

Ramusio informs us,† that Verrazano made another voyage to the shores of the new world, where he was killed in a battle with the natives. Though we have no original document in which this is affirmed, still it is probable, for many reasons, that a second expedition was really made.‡

The first is the statement of Ramusio himself, a contemporary and countryman of Verrazano, and who lived among the very men with whom Verrazano would be in correspondence, and who would be likely to know his fate.

Further, the tenor of Verrazano's own report, which is very favorable to the country he had discovered, in respect

* See Mr. Cogswell's edition of Verrazano's letter, l. c. p. 52.

† "Discorso," etc., vol. 3, fol. 417 B.

‡ Mr. G. W. Greene, in his "Life and Voyages of Verrazano" (in *North American Review*, 1837, p. 304), collects, in a very complete and able manner, all the reasons and circumstances which make a second voyage of Verrazano nearly certain.

to its nature, its climate and fertility, its general aspect, and even its aboriginal inhabitants, shows an inclination on the part of the author to go out again to these regions, and even to persuade his king to make a settlement there. "In a short time," he repeats once more at the end of his report,* "we shall have, I hope, more certain knowledge of these things, by the aid of your majestie."

Ramusio does not pretend that Verrazano made his second voyage as commander, and in the service of the king of France. The affairs of France and of Francis I. fell into a very confused and 'desperate state soon after Verrazano's return, and after the battle of Pavia at the beginning of 1525; Verrazano may, therefore, have early discovered, that there was no chance for him of employment in France. For this and other reasons it is not unlikely, that, as some have thought, he may after a time have emigrated from France, proceeded to England, and entered the service of Henry VIII; and that he may have been the "Italian pilot," who is said by Herrera to have been killed by the Indians on a subsequent English expedition to the east coast of America, of which we shall soon speak.†

But with regard to Verrazano's ultimate fate, the opinions of authors have been very widely different. Some have thought that, not receiving the promotion he had expected in France, he returned to Italy and died there; others, that he was taken by the Spaniards and hanged as a "corsario" (pirate). ‡

* See Cogswell, l. c. p. 67.

† This, to a certain degree, is made probable by Mr. Biddle in his *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 278 seq.

‡ This is said by Barcia, *Ensayo Chronol. de la Florida*, p. 8. Madrid, 1723.

2. EXPEDITION OF ESTEVAN GOMEZ ALONG THE EAST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA IN 1525.

From the time of Columbus, the pilots and cosmographers of Spain were continually occupied with the problem of a passage to India by a western route. The question was revived with renewed zeal on the return, in 1522, of the *Victoria*, Magellan's vessel, under command of Sebastian del Cano, from the great discovery at the south, that a passage had at last been found through the hitherto impassable barrier of the western continent.

Another expedition toward Magellan's Strait was at once prepared. But the mariners, who had returned in the *Victoria*, had found the new route long and dangerous, and could not, therefore, highly recommend it.

The hope again revived, that another strait might be discovered, by which America would be penetrated in a similar manner in the north, though the Cabots and the Cortereals had not succeeded in finding it. It was argued by some, that *because* there was a strait in the south, there *ought also to be one* in the north, under the conviction that, according to a certain law of harmony, nature must have disposed and shaped, in a corresponding manner, the countries verging toward the north and south poles.

Among those who inclined to this belief, was Estevan Gomez, an experienced Portuguese pilot, who since 1518 had been in the service of the king of Spain. In that year the emperor gave him the title of "piloto," at the same time that he gave to Sebastian Cabot the title of "piloto major." *

Gomez had been several times with his Portuguese countrymen to the East Indies. He had also sailed with Magellan to the south of America in the subordinate capacity of

* See Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 3, cap. 7.

pilot of the "San Antonio," one of Magellan's vessels, though he had much higher pretensions. In that capacity he had become, to some extent, an opponent and rival of Magellan, his commander; and at last had conspired against him, and left him with the ship Antonio and her mutinous crew, and returned to Spain. On his arrival he reported, that the strait in the south, which Magellan thought he had discovered, was too dangerous to be used for any good purpose, that Magellan and all his men would probably perish, and that he himself had concluded to save his vessel and crew for the future service of his king.

It was natural, therefore, that when Magellan's remaining vessel returned in 1522, Gomez should desire to offset this valuable discovery of his rival, by a more successful attempt in the north.

Fernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, had also, in 1524, pronounced himself in favor of the existence of a northern passage to the Pacific. At this very time, Lucas Vasques D'Ayllon also entertained the same opinion. He had extended Spanish discoveries in 1520 to latitude 33° on our coast, including "Chicora," and had received a royal commission, signed June 12, 1523,* for the discovery of a passage in the northern parts of Florida.

It appears, accordingly, that in the years 1523 and 1524, there were in Spain not less than three competitors for the discovery of a north-west passage on our coast,—Cortes, Ayllon, and Gomez. But Cortes was hindered by several circumstances from the execution of his plan, and gave it up. Ayllon consumed a long time in the outfit of his vessels, and in preparing for his expedition, and was not ready with his

* See commission in Navarrete, "Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos," etc., tom. 3, p. 153 seq.

armament until 1526, and at last came to an unhappy end, in the southern part of the east coast.

It was, therefore, left to Gomez in 1524 to conduct an expedition for the discovery of this passage. An order had been made by Charles V. in 1523, for fitting out a vessel of fifty tons, to which he would contribute 750 ducats; the rest of the expense to be borne by private persons. But this expedition was delayed in the hope of securing the services of Cortes; and also by a disagreement between Spain and Portugal, in regard to the division of their respective claims in the new world.* For the adjustment of these, a council was held at Badajos, to which Gomez was sent in 1524. Here he took his place, as one of the Spanish scientific commissioners, by the side of Sebastian Cabot, Juan Vespucci, Diego Ribero, and other celebrated cosmographers and pilots.† This honorable position shows the high estimation for knowledge and experience in which this "pilot" was held; who was destined to be the official Spanish explorer of the northern parts of the east coast of America.

This commission dissolved in 1524 without having come to a conclusion on the disputed points; and Gomez was again at leisure to complete the preparations for his voyage. He sailed a few days after the 10th of Feb. in 1525,‡ from the port of Corunna in Galicia, where the "Casa de contratacion" (court of Admiralty), formerly held in Seville, had been for some time established.

* Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 1.

† Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 6, cap. 6.

‡ Navarrete has found in the Spanish archives the Royal decree (*la Real cedula*), by which Gomez, before he started, was nominated, Feb. 10, 1525, his majesty's pilot. And Navarrete adds, "he left the port at the same time." There is also a perfect agreement between this date and the statements of the historians on the time of his return; respecting which I shall speak hereafter; so that there seems to be no doubt, that his departure must have been on the days next following the 10th of February.

We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship-journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved. And the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera, and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition; although it had a particular interest for Spain, being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast.

We only know, that Gomez had the intention of going to the north, though not to the *higher* arctic regions, which the Cabots and the Cortereals had attempted. He thought he might find a passage to China "between the Bacallaos and Florida." * The coast of Florida had been discovered and explored in 1512 and 1520, as high as 33° N. by Ponce de Leon and Ayllon; by which it was known in Spain, says Herrera, that no passage existed there. Newfoundland, Labrador, and other coasts in that region, had been reconnoitered by Sebastian Cabot, the Cortereals, and others. But in the wide region between Florida and Cape Breton, "no Castilian vessel had sailed as yet." † The expedition made the year before to the same region by the French "corsario," Verazano, was perhaps not yet known in Spain.

From this it appears, that Gomez, from the beginning, had this intermediate coast in view. "If China and the Molucas could not be found that way," says Herrera, "many other goodly islands and provinces might be found, which had not been discovered as yet. It was also," he adds, "the opinion of Sebastian Cabot, that there might be discovered still many islands on the way to the Moluccas." ‡

* So says Peter Martyr, Dec. VI, cap. 10, "iter ad Cataiam inter Bacallaos et Floridam se reperturum inquit."

† Herrera, l. c. Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8.

‡ Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 4, cap. 20.

Sebastian Cabot was in communication with Gomez, having had, in 1524, his seat with him in the council of Badajoz; and we may conclude that Cabot was consulted in regard to his voyage, and its direction; and he may have suggested to Gomez to seek his object in this middle region. Cabot may have thought that enough had been done, in the higher latitudes, where the ice had proved so great a barrier, and that a practicable passage might be found between the extreme points already explored, and which he had not been able to examine himself with sufficient attention. The expedition of Gomez may, therefore, be considered in a manner as a continuation and completion of Cabot's voyage.*

Near Newfoundland, Cabot had discovered broad openings which had not been satisfactorily explored. On the south of Newfoundland a large open space had been depicted on the chart of Reinel, the countryman of Gomez, and by others after him. It is therefore probable, that Gomez, on leaving Corunna, shaped his course to the north, in the direction of Newfoundland; leaving the south, which had been already now fully explored, and where success was more doubtful, to be examined afterwards. In fact, some authors state explicitly, and others leave us to infer, that his course, like that of Cabot, was along our coast from north to south.† But Galvano, in many respects a good authority, affirms that Gomez went from Corunna first to the island of Cuba, and thence sailed by Florida as high north as Cape Race.‡ Thus Gal-

* Some authors affirm, that the expedition of Gomez was proposed in *opposition* to Cabot, and by his rivals and enemies. I find no allusion to such an enmity in any Spanish author. It only appears that there were two parties in Spain, entertaining different views on the usefulness and success of the undertaking of Gomez.

† Peter Martyr, l. c. hints this; also, Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8; and Oviedo (Sommario, cap. 10, fol. 14), says that Gomez ran along the coast westward (*discurriendo al occidente*).

‡ See Galvano, "Discoveries of the World," ed. by Vice-admiral Be-thune, p. 167. London, 1862.

vano, who was a Portuguese, either from want of information or from oversight, has reversed the whole track of Gomez. And in this important point he has been followed by some modern authors.* This construction we shall endeavor to prove to have been erroneous.

The reports, given by the Spanish historians, of the discoveries of Gomez along our coast, are lamentably short. They determine neither his northern land-fall, nor the southern end of his cruise, nor the gulfs, ports, and inlets which he entered. We learn nothing from them about the obstacles he encountered, nor any incidents of his voyage. They say nothing, but that "Gomez went along quite a large space of country which had been navigated by no Spaniard before him,"† and that he went as far south as Florida. But "Florida" was a vague and broad term. Oviedo says, that he went as far south as about 40° or 41° N. But in respect to all the particulars of his voyage we are left to probabilities, and also to the official Spanish charts, which were executed soon after the time of Gomez, and which speak more precisely than the Spanish authors. I shall introduce these charts and examine them in the appendage to this chapter.

The result of this examination will be, that Gomez entered many ports and bays of the coast of New England, and gave names to them, by which they became known in geography for a long time. The territory, of which Maine is a part, was described on Spanish maps, as the "country of Gomez" (Tierra de Gomez).

* A discoverer sailing along our coast from south to north would be likely to make different discoveries, to enter different ports, to be arrested by different impediments, from one sailing from north to south.

† Gomara says: "Anduvo buen pedaco de tierra." And Herrera about the same: "Corria por toda aquella costa hasta la Florida, gran trecho de tierra."

The voyage of Gomez terminated in about 40° or 41° N.,* without his having found any passage to the west, or any of the rich products which he was expected to bring home.†

But determining to present something valuable to his owners, he caught as many Indians as he could take on board his small vessels, and carried them to Spain.‡ No account is given of the place or manner in which these poor captives were taken. But it is reasonable to suppose, that he would not have seized them until he had given up all hope of finding a passage to Cathay, and was about entering on his home voyage, and therefore, that they were taken from the southern termination of his cruise, in latitude about 40° N., or about New York bay.

Herrera says, that from "Florida" he went to the island of Cuba, stayed some time in S. Jago, there refitted his vessel, refreshed his men, and was well taken care of by Andres de Duero, whom the emperor afterwards rewarded for this hospitality to his pilot.§ Though Peter Martyr and Gomara mention nothing of this visit to Cuba, and make Gomez sail directly to Spain, still Herrera's statement is in the highest degree probable. Vessels coming from the north with exhausted crews, along the coast of Florida, have always considered the West Indies as a harbor of refuge. I could mention many expeditions which, before returning to Europe, have sought refuge in Cuba or Hayti for refreshment and supplies. And as the planters of Cuba were at this time much in need of slaves, it may have appeared to Gomez a good market for his cargo; and he may have sold there the

* Oviedo, a contemporary writer, says this quite distinctly in his *Sommario*, cap 10, fol. 14, which, for the first time, was published in the year 1526.

† Gomara.

‡ Peter Martyr says: "*utriusque sexus hominibus navem farcivit.*"

§ Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 8, cap. 8; and Navarrete, l.c. p. 179.

greater part of his captives to indemnify his owners. Other writers, however, think that he carried them to Spain to gratify the curiosity of the emperor, as was then customary with explorers.

The circumstances last mentioned tend to confirm the opinion, that Gomez did sail along the coast from Newfoundland to the south; and not, as Galvano and some modern writers affirm, from south to north.

The entire voyage of Gomez lasted ten months. On this point all the good authorities agree. And as he sailed from Corunna a few days after the 10th of February, he must have arrived at that place on his return about the 10th of December; and this date agrees with the view which Peter Martyr takes in his letters on the subject. Although in his work he announces, as in a newspaper, the various movements in the progress of discovery, still in none of his letters, written in the month of November, 1525,* does he say anything of the return of Gomez. He speaks of him in a subsequent letter, written probably at the beginning of 1526.† Oviedo says, that he arrived "in the month of November," perhaps at the end of it. The "ten months" of navigation should not, perhaps, be taken literally.‡ But they all concur in making the length of the voyage *about ten months*; which is an ample period for his extensive and minute exploration.

On his arrival in Corunna, the public was very anxious to know whether he had succeeded in his great object, and if he had really reached the Moluccas through the northern regions. A good old gentleman, whom they told that the

* See this letter in Peter Martyr, Dec. VIII, cap. 9.

† Peter Martyr, Dec. VIII, cap. 10.

‡ That is confirmed by the expression used by Peter Martyr, who says that Gomez returned "within the tenth month" (*intra mensem decimum a secessu*).

pilot Gomez had returned and had brought back "esclavos" (slaves), understood them to say "clavos" (cloves or spices). Thinking that this would be good news for the emperor, who at this time held his court at Toledo, he took the swiftest horses, and carried the report that Gomez had reached the Moluccas, and had returned with a ship full of spices and other precious articles. But the meagre truth soon followed, that not "clavos" had been brought home, but only *esclavos*, kidnapped against the royal decree by Gomez, who therefore deserved punishment, instead of reward. This mistake gave occasion at the time for a good deal of amusement to the courtiers, and has been related for more than a hundred and fifty years, by every historian and geographer who has written, even if only a few lines, on the discovery of Norumbega.*

A more important consequence of the voyage of Gomez is, that it was the means of introducing another nation to our waters and coasts. Although the Spaniards, since the year 1494, when the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal was drawn, had considered all the regions west of this line as a part of their dominion, and had depicted them as such on their maps; still, no Spaniard, by any act of discovery or possession, had seized those coasts in the name of his king, until this voyage of Gomez in 1525. Gomez had now done this by actual survey, and by giving to the country a Spanish name, "La tierra de Gomez," which was now entered on their charts.

The Spaniards, and more particularly the mariners and fishermen of Biscay, have pretended, like those of Brittany and Normandy, that they and their ancestors, from time immemorial, had sailed to Newfoundland; and, even before Columbus,

* See Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, Herrera, Wytfliet, De Bry, and in fact all historians and geographers down to Mr. Biddle.

had established their fisheries there. But the Spanish historian Navarrete, in more modern times, does not sustain this pretension of his countrymen, and shows that it is "not supported nor proved by any contemporary and trustworthy document whatever;" but that it is proved, on the contrary, by many facts and testimonies, that the fishermen of Guypuzcoa, S. Sebastian, and other Biscayan ports, did not appear in our waters, or commence their fisheries before 1526, the year after the return of Gomez.* Then and not before, says Navarrete, the Biscay people commenced their voyages to the north-western regions, going every year in the early spring, and returning in the latter part of autumn,—the same seasons of the year in which Gomez had sailed and returned.

Though the proofs on which Navarrete founded his opinion,—namely, certain recollections, testimonies, and statements of old Biscay fishermen, made upon examination in a lawsuit in 1561,—do not appear to me to be quite conclusive,† still the views of a Spanish historian like Navarrete, are of great force. At any rate, we may come to the conclusion, that if the fisheries of the Spanish Basques on the Banks of Newfoundland and in the vicinity, did not begin with the voyage of Gomez, they received from it a new impulse. Gomez, fitted out as he was in Corunna, very probably took his principal crew from among the hardy navigators of the north of Spain. Herrera, in speaking of the preparations for this voyage and its outfit, says, that the emperor had ordered "the province of Biscay and the four Biscay towns to give him thereunto every possible assistance."‡ Gomez, on his voyage, made known to the Biscayan sailors who accompa-

* See Navarrete, *Collecion de los viages y descubrimientos*, etc., tom. 3, p. 1766 seq. Madrid, 1829.

† The recollections of those old fishermen, examined in the year 1561, may, from want of memory, have gone no higher up than 1526.

‡ See Herrera, Dec. III, lib. 4, cap. 20.

nied him, the coasts surrounding the Banks of Newfoundland, Newfoundland itself, the coasts of Nova Scotia and the Gulf of Maine, as far at least as 41° or 40° N. He brought back also from these regions accurate maps, or sailing charts, and thus made the navigation to them more easy. Moreover, he proclaimed the news through all the north of Spain, that these regions, if not rich in spices, were at least "full of walrusses, cod-fish, salmon, and fish of all sorts." * Such news must have made a great impression on the fishermen of Biscay, and have given them a fresh impulse. From this time, for more than a century, they appeared in these waters every year with a large fleet, and took their place upon the banks as equals by the side of the Bretons, Normans, and Basques of France, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when rival nations dispossessed them of their privileges.†

3. EXPEDITION OF TWO ENGLISH SHIPS, THE MARY OF GUILFORD AND THE SAMSON, UNDER THE COMMAND OF JOHN RUT, 1527.

A wealthy and intelligent merchant of Bristol, Robert Thorne, "in the time of Henry VIII. of England, a notable member and ornament of his country," was very active in promoting voyages of discovery. In 1527 he was, for some time, settled in Seville in Spain, and from thence he wrote two letters or memoirs, one of which he directed to Doctor Ley, "ambassador in Spain" of Henry VIII, in which he gave information of the parts of the world discovered by the emperor and the king of Portugal; and another, which he addressed to Henry VIII, exhorting him to prosecute the

* This is mentioned in the inscription on Ribero's map of the year 1529. See this map in the appendage to this chapter.

† Navarrete, l. c. p. 180.

work which had been begun, of discovering unknown countries.

Hakluyt, who afterwards found and published these two interesting old documents,* says, that "this motion took present effect," and that the king sent out "two faire ships, well manned and victualled, and having in them divers cunning men, to seeke strange regions."

One of these vessels was called "The Mary of Guilford," and the other the "Samson."† They sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of June, 1527.‡

Biddle§ thinks it absurd to suppose, that a letter, written in the year 1527, could have been forwarded, its suggestions considered and adopted, the course resolved on, commanders selected, vessels suitable for such an enterprise prepared, and all the arrangements completed, so as to admit of that early departure on the 20th of May. Hence he concludes, that Robert Thorne is associated with this expedition by Hakluyt, without due consideration. He thinks, on the contrary, that Verrazano, soon after his return from his expedition of 1524, perceiving that in the confused and exhausted state of France, he would have no chance of employment there, had proceeded to England, presented his chart, and probably a report of his former expedition to Henry VIII, and was therefore the true instigator of this undertaking of 1527. So far as Verrazano is concerned, all this appears very probable. Still, Hakluyt's statement regarding Thorne may also be

* See Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages," Ed. John Winter Jones, pp. 27 and 33.

† Hakluyt (*Voyages and Navigations*, vol. 3, p. 166, London, 1810) says, that according to what he had heard, one of the vessels was named "The Dominus vobiscum." Master Rut, the commander of the expedition, in a letter written by him, gives the two names above mentioned.

‡ Purchas, *Pilgrims*, vol. 3, p. 809. Hakluyt says, on the 20th of May from the Thames. Both may be right.

§ Memoir of Cabot, p. 280.

true to a certain extent. Henry may have lent his ear to the words of Verrazano, and also to the letters of Thorne, if we suppose them to have been written and delivered at the beginning of 1527. Thorne's letter may have contributed to confirm the king in his support of Verrazano's scheme. Often, in such cases, an impulse has been derived from different sources.

The discovery of a north-west passage appears to have been the principal object of the expedition. The ships sailed toward Newfoundland, but went no further north than 53°, where they met with "many great islands of ice," and "a marvillous great storm," which separated the two vessels on the 1st of July. The *Mary of Guilford*, under command of Master John Rut, "cast about to the southward," and "on the third day of August entered a good haven in Newfoundland, called St. John, where they found eleven sails of Normans, one of Brittany, and two Portugal barks, all a fishing."*

As we have no further account of the *Samson*, it is probable that she perished in the great storm above mentioned.

The *Mary of Guilford* "returned by the coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Norumbega;" often, as Hakluyt informs us, "entering the ports of those regions, landing men, and examining into the condition of the country. They reached England in the beginning of October."†

The name "Norumbega," or "Arambec," in Hakluyt's time, was applied to Maine, and sometimes to the whole of New England. We have, therefore, in this report, information of the first instance in which Englishmen are certainly known to have *put their feet upon these shores*. Though the

* Purchas, l. c.

† Hakluyt, *Voyages, Navigations, etc.*, vol. 3, p. 168. London, 1810. The old edition of Hakluyt (fol. 517, London, 1589) has "coasts of Norumbega." The later editions, including that of 1598-1600, fol. 3, p. 219, have "coasts of Arambec." The names are synonymous.

Cabots and others, before this time, had sailed in sight of this coast, yet we are not told distinctly, that they went on shore or reconnoitered the country.

It is much to be regretted that we have so little information on this exploring expedition, which is so highly interesting to the object of our inquiry, especially as the expedition is said to have been accompanied by a learned man, "a Canon of St. Paul in London, a great mathematician." It may be presumed that his observations on these regions were brought to England; and that by this means, or others, the English had now become somewhat acquainted with Norumbega.*

Mr. Biddle conjectures that Verrazano who, like Thorne, had recommended this expedition, was on board of the *Mary* of Guilford, and was killed by the natives of Norumbega on one of the excursions into the interior.† Verrazano, on his expedition in 1524, had observed the numerous islands and the broken and indented shores of these coasts. He had expressed in his letter to Francis I. a great interest in these regions, and a wish to visit them again; and it may be supposed, that he had persuaded the commander, Master Rut, to explore more carefully these coasts, where from their wide indentations he might hope to find a passage. It is therefore not unlikely, that Verrazano found his death on the shores of Norumbega: and if a monument to the memory of this famous discoverer should ever be contemplated, this would be the region in which it should be erected.

From certain statements of Spanish authors it is probable that the "*Mary*," after passing the coasts of Norumbega,

* Hakluyt (l. c. p. 179) says, that he could not learn the name of "the mathematician." Mr. Biddle (p. 274) makes it probable, that it was the clergyman Albert de Prato, mentioned by Purchas.

† See Biddle's *Memoir*, p. 276 seq.

sailed still further south along the east coast of the United States, and, arriving in the Spanish West Indies, cast anchor off the island of Porto Rico.

The Spanish historian Oviedo, who at the time of this expedition lived in the West Indies, reports, that in the year 1527 an English vessel had appeared off Porto Rico. He gives no further particulars regarding this alarming appearance of Englishmen in these exclusively Spanish waters.* But another Spanish historian, Herrera, without giving an exact date, relates this event as follows: † A strange vessel of three masts and of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons had appeared off the island of S. Juan de Porto Rico. Gines Navarro, the master of a Spanish vessel then lying in the port, supposing her also to be Spanish, went out in a boat to board her. But on his way he was met by a pinnace from the strange vessel, with twenty-five armed men, and two pieces of artillery. They proved to be Englishmen, and told the Spaniard the following story: They had come from the north. In the beginning they had two vessels, fitted out for the purpose of searching for the country of the Great Chan.‡ The second vessel had been separated from them in a storm. They had passed through a very rough sea, where they had encountered great islands of ice, and afterwards had entered into waters which were boiling hot (the Gulf-stream?). They had reconnoitered "the Bacallaos," where they had found fifty Spanish, French, and Portuguese fishing vessels. In one instance they had gone ashore to confer with the Indians, by whom their pilot, an Italian, "a native of Piedmont," was killed. They had then coasted along as far south as the river

* See Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, lib. 19, cap. 13; and Biddle, *Memoir of Cabot*, pp. 114, 275.

† Herrera, Dec. II, lib. 5, cap. 3.

‡ . . . "para yr a buscar la tierra del Gran Can."

of Chicora (*hasta el Rio de Chicora*), and from this river they had come over to the island of S. Juan de Porto Rico.

These Englishmen, as Herrera proceeds to relate, invited Captain Navarro to come on board their vessel, showing him their papers and instructions from the king of England, and their great store of victuals, wine, flour, clothes, ammunition, artillery, and iron-work. The ship was manned by sixty men. They wished to know the way to Santo Domingo; and, after some time, sailed thither. From this place, however, not being received in a friendly manner by the Spanish commander of the castle, who fired upon them, they returned to Porto Rico, traded some time with the inhabitants of the port of St. German, and after that disappeared altogether.

From this narrative it is evident, that the early events of the English expedition of which Herrera speaks, have a striking resemblance to the early events of the expedition of the "Mary of Guilford" and the "Samson," as related by Hakluyt and Master Rut. It is nearly certain, that both the Spanish and the English accounts refer to the same expedition; and both agree in ascribing to it the same essential particulars, of the commission from the king, the purpose of the voyage, the number of vessels and the fortunes of each, the countries visited, and the obstructions and difficulties encountered. The islands of ice, and the French and Portuguese fishing vessels near Newfoundland, are mentioned in both reports.* Thus it appears, that Master Rut communicated to the Spanish captain nearly the same things, and in nearly the same words, which he had just before written in his letter from Newfoundland to the king of England.

The principal point on which they differ is the date. Herrera, in his chronological history, speaks of his English vessel in a chapter in which he treats of events of the year 1519.

* Herrera mentions also *Spanish* vessels, which Rut does not.

That he has misplaced this voyage under that year is evident from the following facts :

1. The perfect silence of all English authorities on a royal English expedition for a north-west passage in the year 1519.

2. The improbability that all the alleged circumstances should agree in two different expeditions.

3. The circumstance that Oviedo, a contemporary and an inhabitant of the West Indies, mentions the arrival of an English vessel at Porto Rico in the year 1527, and does not speak of such an event in the year 1519.

It is possible that Herrera may have made a chronological mistake, and that he was not sure about the date of this event. But it is more probable, that he did not intend to give the date of 1519 to the incident which he has here related. In a chapter under the head of 1519, he considers and reviews, in a general way, the condition of the Spanish colonies, and merely adverts, by way of example, to this appearance of an English vessel, as one of several circumstances which had led to complaints and uneasiness on the part of Spain. In giving examples and instances, he thus refers to an event which occurred at a later period.

And last but not least, it must be observed, that the country and river of "Chicora," which Herrera mentions under the head of the year 1519, did not become known to the Spaniards until after the subsequent expeditions of Ayllon in 1520-1526.* In the year 1519, no Captain Navarro could speak with an English captain about "Chicora."

From all this it is perfectly clear, that the strange vessel which the Spanish Captain Navarro saw off Porto Rico was the "Mary of Guilford" in 1527, and that the English commander, with whom he had this conversation, was Master Rut. And hence it follows, that the oral communication

* See amongst others, Herrera, Dec. X, lib. 9, cap. 12.

made by Master Rut to Captain Navarro regarding certain events of his expedition subsequent to its departure from Newfoundland, namely, the killing of the Italian pilot (Verrazano?) and the sail of the *Mary of Guilford* along the east coast of North America to "*Chicora*," must be regarded as a supplement to his written communication, made to Henry VIII. concerning the earlier events of his expedition.

Unfortunately, we do not certainly know whether any chart of the track of the "*Mary of Guilford*," and of the coasts reconnoitered by her, was drawn during this voyage. But as it was usual on these royal or official expeditions to draw charts of their routes, we may infer, that it was done in this instance; and also from the fact that they had on board a "learned man," both a canon and a mathematician. Though it has not been preserved to us, it may have existed for some time in England, and have been used by later English map-makers.

This voyage of the *Mary of Guilford*, in 1527, was the last official enterprise of the English to our waters and coasts, until the expedition of Sir John Hawkins, in 1565.

The result of our examination of this expedition, so far as they relate to our special purpose, may be thus summed up:

The coast of the country of Norumbega was visited by an English vessel in 1527.

The *Mary of Guilford* not only came in sight of the coast of Maine, but she also "often times put her men on land to search the state of these unknown regions;"* and it is the first occasion of which we are distinctly informed, that Englishmen actually landed on this coast.

It is not improbable, that it was on the occasion of this

*.Hakluyt, ed. of 1589, p. 517.

landing, that the celebrated French navigator, Verrazano, was killed by the Indians.

After Cabot, this was the *second* English expedition which sailed along the entire east coast of the United States, as far south as Carolina,—the country of Chicora.

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